

INDIAN CASTE



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BY THE LATE

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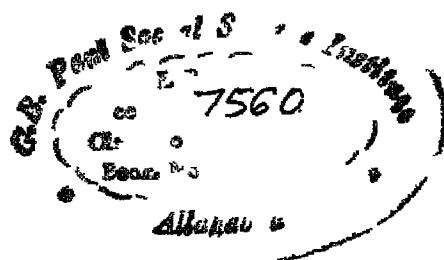
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NOTE.

WHEN Dr Wilson died in December 1875, he left no instructions as to the future disposal of the work on *Caste* on which he had been engaged at intervals for the last twenty years of his life. A cursory inspection of the vast mass of papers which Dr Wilson left led me to hope that ample material existed for a continuation of the work, if not for its absolute completion. Accordingly, after a delay caused by the necessity of going through all the papers for purposes connected with the winding up of the Estate, all those that seemed to appertain to Dr Wilson's literary activity were sent to Mr Andrew Wilson, into whose hands the task of completing the Book from material existing in manuscript would naturally have fallen. But the result of a careful investigation was to satisfy the family that nothing would be gained by attempting to add materially to the work as Dr Wilson left it, and, accordingly I was requested to have it brought

Dr Wilson had finally corrected the whole of the first volume of the work, and the second volume as far as the end of page 184. The material for pp 184-228 of the second volume, completing the account of the Brahmanical castes, existed partly in type, partly in manuscript. But these pages were not revised by the Author.

I should perhaps mention that a portion of the first volume has been in type since 1857.

An index of names and the more important subjects has been added.

PETER PETERSON, M.A.

*Elphinstone College,
1st October, 1877*

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INDIAN CASTE

PART FIRST.—WHAT CASTE IS

I.—INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

PRIDE of ancestry of family and personal position and occupation, and of religious pre eminence which, as will be immediately seen, is the grand characteristic of "Caste," is not peculiar to India Nations and peoples, as well as individuals, have in all countries, in all ages, and at all times, been prone to take exaggerated views of their own importance, and to claim for themselves a natural and historical and social superiority to which they have had no adequate title That spirit which led many of the olden tribes of men to consider their progenitors as the direct offspring of the soil on which they trode, as the children of the sun moon and other heavenly bodies in whose light they rejoiced, or as the procreations or manifestations of the imaginary personal gods whom they worshipped, has been very extensive in its influence throughout the world The higher communities and classes of men, ungrateful to Providence for their advantages when real, have often looked with contempt and disdain on the lower while the lower have looked with envy jealousy, and depreciation on the higher Comparatively few individuals, indeed

the sphere of the observation of our own great poet, Shakespeare, it is

‘That monster Custom, who all sense doth eat
Of habits devil

It is dishonouring alike to the Creator of man, and injurious to man the creature. It is emphatically the curse of India and the parent of India's woes. It is the great enemy of enlightenment and improvement and advancement in India. It is the grand obstacle to the triumphs of the Gospel of peace in India. Its evil doings of late, it is not too bold to say, have moved earth below and heaven above and hell beneath. With its terrible deeds before us proclaiming its hate and power, attention may well be bestowed on its origin, developments, character, and results, and on our own duty with respect to its continued influence on Indian society.

II —THE MEANING, SPHERE, AUTHORITY, AND SYMBOLS OF CASTE

CASTE is not an Indian word. Its original form, *casta*, belongs to the Portuguese, by whom it was ordinarily used among themselves to express “cast,” “mould,” “rice,” “kind,” and “quality.” It was applied by the Portuguese, when they first arrived in the East, to designate the peculiar system of religious and social distinc-

हे जातिभेद आहेत या योगाने हा हिंदूधर्म कार सुराक्षेत राहिला आहे हे जातिभेद हा हिंदूधर्माचा मुख्य पाया आहे हा द्या काळीं दौसळेल द्या काळीं निखालस हिंदूधर्म वडेल यांन सशाय नाही —It is by means of these Caste distinctions that in the Bharatkhanda the Hindu religion has been so well preserved. These Caste distinctions are the chief support of the Hindu religion when it (thus support) gives way there can be no doubt that the Hindu religion will sink to destruction.

tions which they observed among the Hindu people, particularly as founded on race* The Indian word which partially corresponds with Caste is *Jati* equivalent to the Latin *gens* (in the inflected form *gentis*—) and Greek *γένος*, "race or nation," while *Jati-bheda*, the representative of the foundations of the caste-system, means the "distinctions of race (*gentis discriminata*)" *Varna*, another word used for it by the Hindus, originally meant a difference in "colour. Gradually these Indian words, conveniently rendered by CASTE, have come to represent not only varieties of race and colour, but every original, hereditary, religious, instituted, and conventional distinction which it is possible to imagine. Caste has its peculiar recognitions,—though of a discordant character,—of creation, formation, constitution, and birth, in all varieties of existence and life, whether vegetable, brutal, human, or superhuman. It gives its directions for recognition, acceptance, consecration, and sacramental dedication, and *vice versa*, of a human being on his appearance in the world. It has for infancy, pupilage, and manhood, its ordained methods of sucking, sipping, drinking, eating, and voiding, of washing, rinsing, anointing, and smearing, of clothing, dressing, and ornamenting of sitting

* Thus, in describing the people of Malabar, Camoens (*Lusitâo* Cant. vii 37) says —

A lei da gente toda, rica, e pobre
 De fabulas composta se imagina
 Andam nus, e somente hum panno cobre
 As partes, que a cobrir naturâ ensinâ
 Dous modos ha da gente, porque a nobre
 Naues chamados sao e a menos dina
 Polcas tem por nome, a quem obriga
 A lei não mistura a casta antiqua

rising, and reclining of moving, visiting, and travelling, of speaking reading, listening, and reciting and of meditating singing, working, playing, and fighting It has its laws for social and religious rights, privileges, and occupations , for instructing, training and educating , for obligation, duty, and practice , for divine recognition, service, and ceremony , for errors, sins, and transgressions , for intercommunion, avoidance, and excommunication , for defilement, ablution, and purification , for fines, chastisements, imprisonments, mutilations, banishments and capital executions It unfolds the ways of committing what it calls sin, accumulating sin, and of putting away sin, and of acquiring merit, dispensing merit, and losing merit. It treats of inheritance, conveyance, possession, and dispossession, and of bargains, gain, loss, and ruin It deals with death, burial, and burning , and with commemoration, assistance, and injury after death It interferes, in short, with all the relations and events of life, and with what precedes and follows, or what is supposed to precede and follow life It reigns supreme in the innumerable classes and divisions of the Hindus, whether they originate in family descent, in religious opinions, in civil or sacred occupations, or in local residence , and it professes to regulate all their interests, affairs, and relationships Caste is the guiding principle of each of the classes and divisions of the Hindus viewed in their distinct or associated capacity A caste is any of the classes or divisions of Hindu society

The authority of Caste rests partly on written laws, partly on legendary fables and narratives, partly on verbal tradition, partly on the injunctions of instructors and priests, partly on custom and usage, and partly on the

caprice and convenience of its votaries. "The roots of law," says Manu, "are the whole Veda the ordinances and observances of such as perfectly understand it, the immemorial customs of good men, and self-satisfaction." "No doubt that man who shall follow the rules prescribed in the *Shu uti* [what was heard, from the Veda] and in the *Smriti* [what was remembered, from the Law] will acquire fame in this life, and in the next inexpressible happiness." "Custom is transcendent law."* The rules, and customs, and prejudices, and breaches, and offences, and concessions and intermissions, and compromises of Caste are numerous and capricious, and complicated beyond conception. They are constantly characterized by pride and folly, and frequently by wickedness.

Caste has its marks, and signs, and symbols and symbolical acts, as well as its laws and customs, and very great stress is laid by it on their constant exhibition. The grand index of Hinduism is the tuft of hair on the crown of the head—called in Sanskrit *chuda*, or *shikhā*, in Marathi *shendi*, and in Tamil *kudamē*,—which is left there on the performance of the sacrament of tonsure, on the first or third year after birth in the case of the three first classes of the Hindus †. In consequence of this mark, Hinduism is popularly known as the *Shen di-dharma*, or religion of the *Shendi*.‡ In the eighth year after the conception of a Brāhman (the representative of the priestly class), in the eleventh from that of a prince or *Kshatriya*, and in the twelfth from that of a *Vish* or *Vaishya*, the agriculturist and mer-

* Manu, n. 6, n 9, 1 108

† See Manu, n 35.

‡ See Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary, sub voc

chant, the investiture with the sacred cord should occur * though this sacrament, in the case of these classes particularly eager for its special blessings, may be resorted to by them in their fifth, sixtn, or eighth year respectively † It should never be delayed in the case of a *Bráhman* beyond his sixteenth year, nor in that of a *Kshatriya*, beyond his twenty second, nor in that of a *Vaishya* beyond his twenty fourth ‡ Thus investiture must be hallowed by the communication of the *Gayatri*, the verse of the Vedas csteemed most sacred The par ties who neglect it are to be reckoned apostates and outcasts § with whom no connexion is to be formed either in law or affinity, even by Bráhmans distressed for subsistence The sacrificial strings of each class have to be formed after a fashion prescribed in the Law Books Certain orders as to the clothes to be worn, and the staves to be carried issued as authoritative in ancient times are now in abeyance though long established custom reigns supreme in these matters The brow of every Hindu must be marked, at least when he is in a state of ceremonial purity, with various pigments indicative of his particular caste, and sectarian connexions as a worshipper of particular gods and goddesses in their varied forms.|| These marks are spots and dots and figures of particular size and shape, and lines horizontal and vertical, as the caste regulations may require An engraving

* Manu, ii 36

† Manu, ii 37

‡ Manu, ii 38

§ परिता वाच्य Manu, ii 39

|| He, who not entitled to distinguishing marks yet lives by wearing such marks, takes to himself the sins of those who are entitled to such marks, and shall be born from the womb of a brute animal Manu iv 200

illustrative of some of them is given in one of the plates of Moor's Hindu Pantheon. They suggest to a Christian an apt illustration of the figurative expression of the Book of Revelation, the "mark of the beast in the forehead."

III —ORTHODOX VIEW OF THE FOUR ORIGINAL CASTES OF THE HINDUS

According to the opinions of the Hindus deemed by them orthodox, the original Castes were four in number — that of the *Brāhmans*, or priestly class that of the *Kshatriyas* or warrior class, that of the *Vaishyas*, or Mercantile and Agricultural class, and that of the *Shūdras*, or Servile Class

"For the sake of preserving the universe says Manu "the Being supremely glorious allotted separate duties to those who sprang respectively from his mouth, his arm his thigh, and his foot To *Brāhmans* he assigned the duties of reading [the Veda], and teaching it, of sacrificing, of assisting others to sacrifice, of giving alms, and of receiving gifts * To defend the people, to give alms, to sacrifice, to read [the Veda], to shun the allurements of sexual gratification are in a few words, the duties of a *Kshatriya* To keep herds of cattle, to bestow largesses to sacrifice, to read the scripture, to carry on trade, to lend at interest, are the duties of a *Vaishya* One principal duty the Supreme Ruler assigns to a *Shudra*, namely, to serve the before mentioned classes, without depre-

* These are the Six constituted Works of the *Brāhmans*, techni-

ciating their worth * A similar origin and similar duties are ascribed to the Four Castes in the Shanti Parva of the Mahábhárata, † in the Matsya, Bhagavata, and several others of the Puranas ‡ in the Játí Málá, or Garland of Castes, of authority in Bengal and the Upper Provinces of India, quoted by Mr Colebrooke, § in the Jati Viveka, or Discrimination of Castes of authority in the West of India, || and in the Sahyadri Khanda of the Skanda Purána, the great practical authority of the Marátha Brahmins ¶ This, in fact, is the view taken of the origin of the four classes by the Caste system now prevalent throughout the whole of India All other passages of the Shastias, with representations on the subject of a different character,—and such there are in abundance,

* Manu i 87 91 In this and other quotations from the Hindu Law Book, I mainly follow Sir William Jones omitting such of his expletives as are not warranted by the text and bringing the renderings sometimes closer to the original

† Mahabharata, Shanti Parva adh 72 v 272o Different accounts of the origin of Caste are given in other works including the Puranas and the Mahabharata, which, to use the words of Dr John Muir, (Original Sanskrit Texts p 87) 'is made up of very heterogeneous elements, the products of different ages and representing widely different dogmatical tendencies which have been thrown together by the successive compilers or editors of the work without any regard to their mutual consistency'

‡ In the Matsya (adh 4) Vaudeva is the name given to the god (*bhagavan* "the worshipful") who (is Brahma according to the context) created the Castes — वामदेवस्तु भगवान्मस्तज्जुखतो द्विजान् राजन्यान्य स्तज्जदाव्हौर्वेष्ट शूद्रान्नसाम्याद्यौ In the Bhagavata, the most orthodox view of the origin of Caste is given in Skanda iii adh v 33 34

§ Colebrooke's Essays, vol ii p 177

|| There are two forms of this work now before me, the larger and smaller

¶ Sa yadr klandi ad Rah. a C ap. 2

as will afterwards appear—are contorted and interpreted in the light of the dogmas here announced. Caste, to the present day adheres to its claims as set forth in Manu, without essential compromise or concession.

To understand the subject of Caste, then we have to keep the statements now quoted constantly in view. For the same purpose, we have to look to the information given in detail in the *Shástrias* of the Hindus respecting the prerogatives, privileges, and duties of these the primary divisions of Caste, and which is still approved and acted upon with very slight modifications in form, throughout the whole country. This we attempt concisely to do.

1. We give a miniature picture, in the first instance of the *Brahman*.

The *Shástras* dwell much on the pre eminence of the *Brahman* both by birth and original endowments, above all the other classes of man. Since the *Bráhman* sprang from the most excellent part, since he was the first born and since he possesses the *Veda* he is by right the chief of this whole creation. "Him, the Being who exists of himself produced in the beginning from his own mouth that having performed holy rites, he might present clarified butter to the gods, and cakes of rice to the progenitors of mankind for the preservation of this world. What created being then can surpass Him with whose mouth the gods of the firmament continually feast on clarified butter, and the manes of ancestors on hallowed cakes? The very birth of *Bráhmans* is a constant incarnation of (God of religion) for the *Brah* is born to promote religion.

springs to light, he is born above the world, the chief of all creatures assigned to guard the treasury of duties religious and civil. Whatever exists in the universe is all in effect, the wealth of the Brāhman, since the Brāhman is entitled to it all by his primogeniture and eminence of birth. The Brāhman eats but his own food, wears his own apparel, and bestows but his own in alms through the benevolence of the Brāhman indeed other mortals enjoy life *. His inherent qualities, however sparingly they may be developed, are "quiescence, self control, devotion, purity, patience, rectitude, secular and sacred understanding, the recognition of spiritual existence, and the inborn-disposition to serve Brahma †. In every member of his body, power and glory are resident. The purifying Ganges is in his right ear, his mouth is that of God himself, the devouring fire is in his hand, the holy *tīrthas*, or places of pilgrimage are in his right foot, ‡ the cow of plenty (*kāmadhenu*) from which all desires may be satisfied, is in the hairs of his body. The Brāhman is the "first born, by nature (*agrayanma*), the "twice born (*dwija*), by the sacrament of the *maunjī*, the "deity-on-earth (*bhādeva*), by his divine status, and the intelligent one (*vipra*), by his innate comprehension §.

* Manu, i. 93 95 c. 101

† Bhagavad-Gītā, xviii. 42

‡ These are among the common synonyms of the Amarkosha Khanda ii, brahmavarga 4

§ The following verse from the Tīrtha Mahātmya has become popular —

पथिव्या यानि तीथानि तानि तीथानि सागरे ।
सागरे सर्वं तीथानि पदे निप्रस्य दक्षिणे ॥

All the *Tīrthas* in the world are in the ocean

All the *Tīrthas* in the ocean are in the Brāhman's right foot

The Brahman, thus exalted in original position, is according to the Shástra, superior to all law, even of a moral character, whenever it clashes with his worldly interests. Even truth and honesty must be dispensed with for his peculiar advantage. "In the case of sensual gratifications," says Manu, "of marriages, of food eaten by cows, of fuel for a sacrifice, of benefit or protection accruing to a Brahman, there is no sin in an oath" * "A Brahman says the same authority, "may live by *rata* and *amrita*, or by *mrita* and *pramrita*, or even by *sat yámrita* (truth and *falsehood*) 'but never let him subsist by dog-living' (hired service)" † "A Bráhman may without hesitation take the property of a Shudra. He (the Shudra) has, indeed, nothing of his own. His master may, doubtless, take his property" ‡ To this injustice, too, the most horrid cruelty may in his case be added, for of the most barbarous treatment of the lower orders, and, unbecoming leniency to Bráhmans, the Hindu sacred writings are in no degree ashamed. They actually enjoin this atrocious spitefulness. "A priest shall be fined five hundred (*panas*), if he slander a soldier, twenty-five, if a merchant, and twelve, if he slander a man of the servile class. For abusing one of the same class a twice born man shall be fined only twelve, but for ribaldry not to be uttered, even that shall be dou-

Hence, the readiness to taste the water in which a Bráhman has washed his foot. In the Padma Parána (Kriyá yadnaśára xx) it is said

विश्वादोदकं यस्तु कर्णमाहवज्जरं । देहस्य पातकं तस्य सद्मोगाशु नश्यते ॥

—The bearer of a drop of water which has been in contact with a Bráhman's foot has all the sins of his body thereby destroyed

* Manu, viii 112

† Manu, iv 4

‡ Manu, viii 417

bled A once born man who insults the twice-born with gross invectives ought to have his tongue slit, for he sprang from the lowest part of Brahma. If he mention their name and class with contumely, as if he say 'Oh! Devadatta (useless gift of God!) an iron style, ten fingers long shall be thrust red hot into his mouth

Should he, through pride, give instructions to priests concerning their duty, let the king order some hot oil to be dropped into his mouth and ear * "A man of the lowest class, who shall insolently place himself on the same seat with one of the highest, shall either be banished with a mark on his hinder part or the king shall cause a gash to be made on his buttock, should he spit on him through pride, the king shall order both of his lips to be gashed should he [decency requires the suppression of what here follows] If he seize the Brahman by the locks, or by the feet, or by the beard or by the throat, or by the scrotum, let the king without hesitation cause incision to be made in his hands + Ignominious tonsure is ordained, instead of capital punishment, for an adulterer of the priestly class, while the punishment of other classes in this case may extend to loss of life "Never shall a king slay a Brahman, though convicted of all possible crimes, let him banish the offender from his realm, but with all his property secure and his body unhurt No greater crime is known on earth than slaying a Brahman, and the king, therefore, must not even form in his mind a idea of killing a priest + "A Brahman, who, by his

* Manu, viii 268 272

† Manu, viii 281 3-28

‡ Manu viii 379 381

power and through avarice, shall cause twice born men, girt with the sacrificial thread, to perform servile acts, with their consent, shall be fined by the king six hundred *panas*. But a man of the servile class, whether bought or unbought, he may compel to perform servile duty, because such a man was created by the self exist ent for the purpose of serving Brahmans. A *Shudra*, though emancipated by his master, is not released from a state of servitude for of a state which is natural to him, by whom can he be divested? * The Bráhman, even, is the adjudicator in his own cause and need make no complaint to royal authorities for the punishment of his enemies, it being left free to himself to take ven geance †

The Brahmans, as themselves the great autho rs of the preceptive parts of the Hindu Shastras, have no feeling of shame whatever in stating their pretensions and urging their prerogatives. Only they must now read and interpret the Veda, which they profess to be the highest revelation of the will of God. Then wrath is as dread ful as that of the gods in heaven. They and their wives, and daughters, are to be worshipped as gods on earth ‡. They allege that they have in many instances,

* Manu, viii. 124-14

† Manu, xi. 31-32

‡ सवधा ब्राह्मण पूज्या परम देवत हित् । 'In all ways, Bráhmans are to be worshipped they are a Supreme Divinity' Manu, ix. 318. In the *Padma Purána* (Kriya yadnasain 25) it is said, "The good man who worships a Bráhman, moving round him to the right hand obtains the merit of himself going round the seven dwipas (insular continents) of the world. In the same work, it is said that 'immoral Bráhmans are to be worshipped, but not Shúdras though subduing their passions the cow that eats things not to be eaten is better than the sow of good intent.'

kicked, and beaten, and cursed and frightened and degraded the highest deities, and distressed and destroyed their children. One of their number, *Kashyapa*, they tell us, was the parent of the sun, and another, *Atri*, of the moon. Others of them, they hold, wrought great marvels in creation and formation. *Brihaspati*, the instructor of the gods, is said by them to have turned the moon into a cinder, for two kalpas of enormous length, and to retain his power over it by covering it with rust, when it assumes a ruddy appearance. *Vishvakarma*, they declare, clipt off the hands and feet of the sun, to make it round, and cut it also into twelve pieces, in which it appears in the twelve signs of the zodiac. The same individual, the architect of the gods, they assert, formed heaven, and another of his caste manufactured a child of grass, which *Sita*, the wife of *Ráma*, could not distinguish from her own son. *Kashyapa*, already mentioned, they make, through his different wives, the parent of fowls, of beasts of prey, of buffaloes, cows, and other cloven footed animals, of hawks, vultures, and other similar birds, of the Apsaras, or water-nymphs, serpents, and other reptiles, of trees, of evil beings, of the *Gandharvas*, and of animals with hoofs.* He, also, they tell us, made fire, while *Bhrigu* imparted to it its property of consumption, and *Sapta* gave it its capability of extinction, and *Agastya*, the great Brahman missionary to the South of India, swallowed up the ocean at three sips, and then passed it impregnated with salt. The achievements of the great Brahmins here referred to are thus alluded to by the Hindu lawgiver — 'Who without perishing could pro-

voked those holy men by whom the all-devouring fire was created the sea with waters not drinkable, and the moon with its wane and increase? what prince could gain wealth by oppressing those, who, if angry, could frame other world and regents of worlds, and could give being to new gods and mortals? What man, desirous of life would injure those by the aid of whom worlds and gods perpetually exist."* The following syllogism has gained universal currency in India —

The whole world is under the power of the *gods*,
 The *gods* are under the power of the *mantras*,
 The *mantras* are under the power of the *Brahman*,
 The *Brahman* is therefore our God."†

These fabrications, which appear to us so ridiculous, were intended to secure to the Brahmins veneration and awe. The endeavour, also, has been made in the *Shás tra* to secure to them their lives. They must not be killed, as we have seen, for the most enormous offences. When an individual weeps for any person whom they may have killed, he must make an atonement for his infirmity. The goddess *Durgá* is pleased with the blood of a man a thousand years, but no Brahman must be sacrificed to her. *Garuda*, the bearer of *Vishnu*, used to eat every sort of creatures except Brahmins, who if swallowed, would have caused an insufferable pain in his stomach, as is said to have been exemplified on a particular occasion. While *Shudras* may offer themselves as sacrifices by what is called the *Kámya marana* (voluntary

* *Mann* ix 314 316

† देवादिने गगत् सर्वं मंत्राधीनं च देवतः ।
 ने मंत्रा त्रासु चाधीना त्रासाणी यम देवतः॥

death), Bráhmans are not required to make any such consecration of themselves "A twice-born man," says Manu, "who barely assaults a Bráhman with an intention to hurt him shall be whirled about for a century in the hell named *Támisí a* but having smitten him in anger, and by design, even with a blade of grass, he shall be born in one and twenty transmigrations from the wombs of impure quadrupeds"** Life however, must not only be preserved exceptionally for the favoured, but it must be rendered comfortable The Bráhmans get all the offerings made at the temples, and the most heinous sins are atoned for by giving them presents If a man sell his cow, he will go to hell, if he give her in donation to a Brahman he will go to heaven If on Gangá's anniversary whole villages be given to Bráhmans, the person presenting them will acquire all the merit which can be obtained his body will be a million of times more glorious than the sun , he will have a mil hon of virgins, many carriages, and palanquins with jewels , and he will live in heaven with his father as many years as there are particles in the land given to Brahmans. Land given to Bráhmans secures heaven , a red cow, a safe passage across the boiling infernal river, *Vaitarani* a house, a heavenly palace, an umbrella, freedom from scorching heat , shoes, freedom from pain when walking , perfumes, freedom from offensive smells , feasting of Bráhmans particularly at births, marriages and deaths, the highest merit If a house be defiled by an unclean bird sitting down upon it, it becomes pure when presented to a Bráhman. A proper gift to a Bráhman on a deathbed will

* Manu, iv 165 166

secure heaven to a malefactor. The Brahmans oblige the other castes, in fact when they condescend to receive their presents * Money given to them should be dipped in water, lest the latent glory of their hands should burst forth and consume the donor †

Most obvious is it that the legislation of the Brahmans, embracing such matters and supported by such legends as those now alluded to has originated exclusively with their own body. Its partialities, and preferences, and prejudices are of the grossest character. Along with these enormous faults, however it is but fair to look at the strict discipline, continuous ceremoniousness and rigid austerities, which in certain circumstances —associated with numerous puerilities,—it has prescribed for its favourites

In the first *Ashrama*, or Order that of the *Brahmáchári*, or Pupil the Bráhman boy, must render the greatest reverence and attention to his priestly instructor, observing constant oblations, and practising unceasing restraints of his appetites. His religious exercises must commence with the morning twilight, and, except during the times of study and eating, they must be con-

* The imparting of gifts (*dana*) is quite a science according to the institutions of Caste, which, as far as this matter is concerned, are collected and explained, in all their particularities in the Law Book entitled the *Dána Mayukha*.

† In thus mentioning the pretensions of the Bráhmans, I have availed myself of and expanded the notices contained in my two Exposures of Hinduism in reply to Brahmanical controversialists. To natives of India acquainted with the Maráthi language I would warmly recommend Mr. Nesbit's tract on the Brahmans' Claims, which appeared after the Exposures were published, and in which some of the popular aspects of the subject are commented on in a telling way.

tanued throughout the day 'Let the twice-born youth,' it is said, "who has been girt with the sacrificial cord collect wood for the holy fire, beg food of his relations, sleep on a low bed, and perform such offices as may please his preceptor until his return to the house of his natural father * With devotion and austerities he is ordered to study the Veda. He is commanded to abstain from honey, flesh, peumes, garlands, vegetable juices, women acidulated substances the killing of animated beings, unguents for his limbs black powder for his eyes, wearing sandals, using an umbrella, sensual desires, wrath, covetousness dancing, singing, dice, disputes, detraction, and falsehood.† He is enjoined to sleep alone, and to perform the duty of a religious mendicant

In the second Order, that of the *Grihastha* or House holder, after the Brahman has chosen, or got chosen, for his wife, a girl whose form has no defect, who has an agreeable name, who walks like a goose,‡ or young elephant, whose hair and teeth are moderate in quantity, and whose body is distinguished by softness, and who, in the case of the first marriage at least, should be of the Brahman class § he should live with her in the strictest fidelity, giving her elegant attire, though not from the most exalted motive,¶ seeking to raise up a family, embracing especially a son, without whom, na-

* Manu, ii 108 The other statements here made are on the authority of the context

† Manu, ii. 167 178

‡ Sir W Jones makes this a phenicopteros, or adjutant bird The Sanskrit, however, is *hansa*, a goose.

§ Manu, iii 12, 17, etc.

¶ Manu, iii 68

tural or adopted, the salvation of a father cannot be effected.* He has to practise unceasingly various minute and burdensome rites and ceremonies connected with study, oblations to fire, the presentation of food to spirits, through animated beings particularly the "twice-born," the entertainment of Brahmanical guests and the offering of rice and water to the manes of ancestors.† At the *Shrāddhas*, or reverential feasts and services performed either for ancestors or for gods he has to avoid inviting or holding intercourse with parties labouring under any disease, deformity, impotency or defect (held under the doctrine of the metempsycosis to be the consequence of past crimes) despising Brahmanical institutes, or following employments uncongenial with the Brahmanical doctrines and practices or guilty of crime.‡ During the feasting, he has to preserve his mind in absolute composure for the shedding

Though the Sanskrit for son, is *putra*, the reciprocal word for *pitar*, (*Lat. pater* a father,) the following fanciful derivation of it, founded on this doctrine, is given by Manu, (ix 138) — Since the son delivers (*trayate*) relieves his father from the hell named *put* he was therefore called *putra* by Brahma himself!'

+ Manu, iii 70, et seq

‡ Among the parties thus to be avoided are the attendants upon images (*devalala*), the sellers of flesh the party supporting himself by traffic a young brother married before the elder or vice versa, a dancer the husband of a Shudra, the pupil or preceptor of a Shudra a seller of the moon plant (used in sacrifices), a navigator of the ocean an encounst, an oilman a maker of bows and a rows a father instructed in the Véda by his son a tamer of elephants bulls horses or camels, an astrologer, a keeper of birds, a breeder of sporting dogs a shepherd a keeper of buffaloes the husband of a twice married woman Manu iii 150-167

of a tear would send the messes before him to restless spirits anger, to foes falsehood to dogs contact with the foot (*pada sparsha*), to Rakshasas, and agitation to scoundrels * At the same time, he has to regale his silent guests with readings from the Veda, from the institutes of law (*Dharma Shāstra*) from stories from historical poems (*Itihāsa*, generally applied to the *Mahabharata*), from antiquities (*Purāṇas*), and from other scriptures † At these ceremonial offerings animal food, to be ate by the company, is declared to be of more avail in the work of propitiation than vegetables a fact which the Brahmans of the present day are shy in admitting ‡ He has to be most particular about the times of the month and day of his religious services ' He must live with no injury or with the least possible injury, to animated beings by pursuing those means of gaining subsistence which are strictly prescribed by law, except in times of distress § He has to keep his hair, nails and

* Manu iii 230

† Ibid iii 232

‡ The ancestors of men are satisfied a whole month with *tula* rice barley black lentils & vetches water roots and fruit given with prescribed ceremonies two months with fish three months with venison four with mutton five with the flesh of such birds as the twice born may eat six months with the flesh of kids seven with that of spotted deer or the antelope called *era* nine with that of the *uru* ten months are they satisfied with the flesh of wild boars and wild buffaloes eleven with that of rabbits or hares and of tortoises a whole year with the milk of cows and food made of that milk from the flesh of the long eared white goat then satisfaction endures twelve years. Manu iii 267-271

§ Manu iv 2 The fourth chapter in many respects corresponds with the third they appear to me to have originally belonged to two different Code.

beard clipped, his passions subdued, his mantle, white, and his body pure* He must not gaze on the sun whether rising or setting (unless in religious services), or eclipsed or reflected in water, or advanced to the middle of the sky He must be reserved in his intercourse with his wife, and neither eat with her, nor see her eating He must neither dishonour earth, nor fire, nor water He must not dwell under the government of a Shudra He must neither dance nor sing, nor play on musical instruments or with dice He must not use the clothes or vessels which have been used by another, till they are purified The beasts with which he travels must be sound, and well trained, and he must never bestride a member of the bovine race He must not cut his own nails or hairs He has to be sober in his speech and conduct He has to accept gifts only from Kshatriyas and Vaishyas, and never from Shudras† He has to observe religious ceremonies at night (when awake), and at morn, noon, and evening He has to keep at a distance from the destroyers of animals and vegetable seeds not simply used in food He must suspend the reading of the Védas during thunder, rain, earthquakes, and other atmospheric and terrene changes and movements He must intermit the reading of the Veda for a day and night when a beast of labour, a frog, a cat, a dog, or a snake passes between him and his pupil‡ He is commanded to abstain from inquiry, lest he

* Manu, iv 35 37

† This is not now the case as will be afterwards explained.

‡ I once asked a learned Pandit what inference he was disposed to draw from this injunction He very adroitly said, 'I should infer that the teacher and pupil should not very closely togeher—'

should be punished for it either in his own person or in those of his descendants. His moral duties he has to prefer to his ceremonial acts though great exceptions, elsewhere noticed, are made to this rule. He is not permitted to take food from a servile man except raw grain for a single night when it may be necessary for the support of his life. He has to be liberal in giving gifts to those deserving of benevolence and he is not to be too proud of his charity. "By falsehood, sacrifice becomes vain by pride, austerities go for nought, by the dishonour of priests, life is diminished and by the display of charity, its fruit is destroyed."* In regard to food, the householder as well as other Brahmans, has to show the greatest scrupulosity. He must avoid eating garlic, onions, leeks, and mushrooms,† and all vegetables raised in dung though the vegetable processes know no impurity, red gums and resins, supposed to be like the blood of animals and carnivorous birds and quadrupeds, and many others of different orders. He might, according to one law, partake of the hedgehog, porcupine, some species of lizards, hares, and all quadrupeds, camels excepted, which have

* Manu, iv 204. See authorities for the preceding statements in the context

† It is difficult to see the reason of the interdiction of the use of these vegetables, unless perhaps it is to be found in their strong smell, especially when imperfectly cooked. The crime of eating them seems to have been a peculiarly heinous one with the Hindu legislators. "The twice-born who has intentionally eaten a mushroom, the flesh of a tame hog, or a tame-cock, a leek, or an onion, or garlic, is degraded immediately." Atonements are available for undesigned eating. Manu, v 19 20

but one row of teeth * According to another, he might use considerable latitude in the use of flesh meat — 'No sin is committed by him who, having honoured the deities and the manes eats flesh meat which he has bought, himself acquired, or had presented to him by another † Yet without these religious rites, he would contract great sin by encouraging the slaughter of animals, which in the main, is strongly disapproved of by the legislators and not now generally resorted to ‡ He has to submit to great inconveniences from ceremonial defilement caused by the birth and death of relatives and connections of various degrees, and by the touch of the lowly Chandala and of all parties in a state of ceremonial impurity § The duties prescribed for the Brahman householder, in short are such as must keep him ever busy, ever on the alert, and ever scrupulous and cautious

The *Vanaprastha* the Hermit of the Wilderness the Brahman in the third *Ashrama* must be a vast deal more selfdenied and restricted than the Householder At the approach of old age he must abandon his family and

* Manu v 18

† Manu v 34

‡ The general doctrine of Manu on this subject may be understood from the following passages — Fle sh meat cannot be procured without injury to animals, and the slaughter of animals obstructs the path to beatitude from flesh meat therefore let man abstain He who consents to the death of an animal he who kills it he who dissects it he who buys it, he who sells it he who dresses it he who serves it up and he who makes it his food these are eight principals in the slaughter Manu v 48 51

§ Manu v 85 & seq For the special laws on these matters see the *Mayukha* under *Shashra* and *Ashashra* (purity and impurity)

worldly affairs. He must not only feed on herbs, fruits, and roots, but use them in sacrifice. He must wear a black antelope's hide, or a vesture of the bark of a tree and suffer his hair, beard, and nails to grow continually. He must be constantly engaged in reading the *Veda* and in other religious-exercises. His devotion must be varied by austerities. "Let him slide backwards and forwards on the ground or let him stand a whole day on tiptoe, or let him continue in motion rising and sitting alternately but at sunrise, at noon, and at sunset, let him go to the waters and bathe. In the hot season let him sit exposed to five fires, in the rains let him stand uncovered where the clouds pour the heaviest showers, in the cold season (when the evaporation caused by the dry air is excessive) let him wear humid vesture and let him increase by degrees the austerity of his devotion." Abandoning the use of all means of gratification, he must for the purpose of uniting his soul with the Divine Spirit, engage in meditation, and study the sacred *Upanishads*, or philosophical pantheistic treatises. Shuffling off his body, if he is attacked by disease by any of these means,—he is given to understand,—he will rise to exaltation in the divine essence †.

The *Sannyasi* or Anchorite in the fourth *Ashrama*, has to improve upon the course now mentioned, practising contemplation however, more than austerities. Delighted with meditating on the Supreme Spirit being fixed in such meditation, without needing anything earthly, without one sensual desire, without any companion

* Manu ii. 22 23

† Manu ii. 32 etc

ion to his own soul, let him live in this world seeking the bliss of the next, "absolute absorption" "His hair, nails, and beard being clipped, bearing with him a dish, a staff, and a waterpot, his whole mind being fixed on God, let him wander about continually, without giving pain to living beings,"* either vegetable or animal. Once a day only he has to ask for food, and that ought to be at a late hour. Meditating [in gross delusion] on the identity of his own spirit with that of the Supreme, and seeking reunion, he is to be ready cheerfully to leave the cumbersome and miserable body†

The profession by the Brahmans, that, with certain nonessential modifications, they have still this sacred character, and that they follow these injunctions, esteemed divine, gives them a powerful hold of the mind of India, quite independently of their pretensions to pre eminence which we have noticed at the commencement of this heading. Its natural effects are often too little regarded in the estimate of the religious and social forces by which we are surrounded in India. With Brahmanical discipline and pursuits, there is much sympathy, even on the part of those large portions of the community which are legally debarred from participating in them. There is an admiration and approval of the Bráhman among the people as well as much dread and distrust of him, and contempt of him for his extravagant claims in connexion with his status and prerogatives. Hence,

* Manu, vi 49 52

† The notice taken of the four *ashrams* in the Puranas, is quite accordant with that of the Law Books. See, for example Wilson's Vishnu Purána, pp 294 296

the attempt in late centuries especially, of multitudes precluded from all priestly services, to become wandering saints and devotees of various orders and grades. There is very great deference shown to the Bráhman, even in the view of the fact that he is now left without a legal remedy for enforcing in his own behalf the unjust laws which he has made connected with his own life, honor and support. I add another observation to this remark. I have a strong impression on my mind that a great deal of the Brahmanical legislation was, from the first, intended only for effect, and that it was never designed to be carried into execution as far as the priestly practice itself was concerned. An intelligent native writer in the Calcutta Review justly says,

Those who arrogate to themselves great honors, must at least profess to be guided by a more elevated standard of duty than their neighbours. A man who prides himself on the greatness of his origin must admit, that it behoveth him to observe higher principles of morality, than those over whom he affects superiority. The Bráhmans have accordingly laid down severe rules for the government of their order. Whether the authors of the Shástras intended, that these austere rules should be followed out in practice, or whether they merely proposed to exhibit their idea of priestly dignity without intending to realize it, it is not easy to determine. One thing however, is certain, that as the Bráhman acknowledged no earthly superior he had little apprehension of his delinquencies being severely visited. He could not be called to account for departing from his maxims, because no one was at liberty to judge him. An austere rule of life could therefore prove no greater restraint on his in-

chnations than he himself [or the priestly community of which he was a member] chose to allow."

2 From the Brahmin, we pass to the *Kshatriya*, the Warrior or rather, as will be afterwards explained, the Ruler or Prince

According to the orthodox view of Caste, the *Kshatriya* is derived from the arms of the god Brahma,[†] in the same way as the Brahman is derived from his head. This explanation of the origin of the *Kshatriya*, however, is not consistently adhered to, even in the Law Books which are the great support of the Caste system. In the seventh chapter of the Code of Manu, which is evidently intended for the use of the ruling authorities, the creation and glory of the prince is thus set forth — "Since the world destitute of a king quaked on all sides, the Lord created a king for the maintenance of this system, both religious and civil, forming him of eternal particles drawn from [the gods] Indra, Anila (Vayu) Yama, Arka (Súrya), Agni, Varuna, Chandra, and Vittesha (Kuvera), and since a king was composed of particles drawn from these chief guardian deities he consequently surpasses all beings in glory. Like the sun, he burns eyes and hearts, nor can any human creatures on earth gaze on him. He is fire and air he, both sun and moon, he the god of retributive justice (Yama) he the god of wealth (Kuvera) he the regent of waters (Varuna) he the lord of the firmament. A king, even though a child must not be

treated lightly, from an idea that he is a mere mortal no he is a powerful divinity who appears in human shape" * "The natural duties of the Kshatriya," according to the Bhagavad Gita, "are heroism, splendour, pertinacity, policy, not fleeing in battle, liberality, and fitness to govern † Other views of his creation and glory will afterwards fall to be alluded to The Brahmans, while setting forth their own pre eminence and superiority, knew how to flatter the powerful and wealthy of their own race, in varied ways not very consistent with the general dogmatic announcements wh ch were most consistent with the religious system which they sought to uphold

The Kshatriya, according to what has now been said, is set forth in the Law Books as the essence of majesty and power, and as the great dispenser of justice, particularly in the matter of punishment of which he is the personal manifestation (*purushodand i*), and which, though needed both by gods and men, is to be leniently applied to Brahmans ‡ He is to be the protector of the various Castes attending to their prescribed duties § In discharging his functions, he has to abide by the decision of learned Brahmans ¶ He must cultivate humility and be warned by the examples of kings who, in the lack of it, have involved themselves in ruin He is enjoined to seek sacred and secular knowledge from the Bráhmaṇas, and

* Manu, vii. 38 Some of the gods here mentioned are contemplated in aspects different from those in which they are exhibited in the Védas

† Bhagavad Gita, xviii. 43

‡ Manu vii. 17 32

§ Manu, vii. 35

¶ Ibid. vii. 37

to avoid various kinds of immoralities and sensualities He is recommended to choose eight ministers some of whom are to be versed in the sacred books and others, in the art of war The ambassador (*dūta*) selected by him should be skilled in all the *Shāstras* He should live in a capital surrounded by a desert, and otherways difficult of approach, and well defended by fortifications, his own palace being in its centre His wife should be of his own class (*varna*) and of good descent and agreeable person He must appoint a domestic priest (*purohita**) and be liberal in sacrifices and in gifts to Brāhmans "An offering in the mouth of a Brāhman" he is told, "is far better than offerings to holy fires, it never drops, it never dries it is never consumed"† In battle he must be brave, resolute, and generous He must subordinate to one another the various districts in his realm He must raise taxes from his subjects according to their means but, though even dying with want, he must not receive any tax from a Brahman learned in the *Vedas* while at the same time he must suffer no such Brahman to die of hunger ‡ The season of the year most favourable for weather and crops he must choose for his warlike campaigns His troops he has to march in varied lines and according to varied figures, with considerable skill, forming, when thought expedient, a van, a rearguard, and a mainbody and also wings and a centre His ordinary soldiers,—who it would appear, might have been of varied tribes and castes,—he was to dispose of in battle according to their capacities "Men born in Kurukshtera in Matsya in Pan

* Literally a foreman

† Manu, vii 84

‡ Manu vi 183

chala, and in Shurasémi, he is required to engage in the van, and "other men who are tall and light" * He has to respect the deities and Brahmans of conquered countries and to appoint over them a prince of his own race (*vansha*) To his neighbours who support his cause, he has to practise kindness, and for self preservation, he has to be ready to part with his dominions and even with his family when required "Against misfortune let him preserve his wealth at the expense of his wealth, let him preserve his wife, but at all events let him preserve himself even at the hazard of his wife and riches † His

* Manu vii 193

† Manu vii 213 The principle here involved is applied to all classes of the Hindus as well as to Kshatriyas The Bráhmans have embodied it in the following Sanskrit proverb —

भायान सतत रक्षेत दारिरोप धनैरोप ।
पुनरा पुनर्बात न शारदि पुन धन ॥

Preserve your wife, preserve you self
But give them both to save yourself
There's other wealth another wife,
But where is there another life?

By a slight change (by a Pandit from the West) this wise saying can be reversed in favour of the poor wife —

भायानं सतत रक्षेत भवार्द्धापि धनेन वा ।
पुनभर्ता पुनर्बात न शारदि पुन धन ॥

'Preserve your man, preserve you self,
But give them both to save yourself
There's other wealth and other men
But who shall see this life again?

For a short comment on these versicles see a paper by the late Rev I. Desbit in the Oriental Christian Spectator, Sept 1842

religious and domestic duties he has to attend to in their own relations. After ablution he has to eat at noon, taking food prepared by faithful servants skilled in the differences of times (lucky and unlucky), and hallowed by texts repulsive of poison. He may then divert himself with his women in the inner apartments, taking due care, however, lest he should be betrayed by them. At sunset, after having performed his religious duty, he should deal with spies and emissaries in retirement. When unable personally to inspect his affairs, he may commit the superintendence of them to a Brahman. From the Brahman, but never from a Shúdra, he has to seek the interpretation of law. "Of that king, who stupidly looks on while a Shudra decides causes, the kingdom shall sink like a cow in deep mire"‡. The king is the guardian of all property including that of minors, and the owner of the half of treasure trove (the other half belonging to Bráhmans), except that found by a learned Bráhman, who may take it without any deduction, as he is the lord of all. He also receives the wealth of all other classes on the failure of heirs, except that of Bráhmans, which must go to their own community without, in any case, being escheated §. He is the upholder of the Caste laws, and customs of the various classes of the community,¶ in so far as practised by good men and virtuous Bráhmans, and not inconsistent with local usages. In the dispensation of justice, the king himself is not to be made a witness, and he has also to make an exemption,

* Manu, vii ad finem

† Manu viii 9

‡ Manu, viii. 21

§ Manu, iv 189

¶ Manu, viii. 37 38

generally, in the matter of giving testimony to certain classes of people, some of whom are thought too humble, and some too great to appear as witnesses * He has to order the administration of oaths or ordeals to competent witnesses, with considerable solemnity from the Indian point of view, with a due regard to the comparative dignity of Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras, and with the recognition of injury said to accrue both to ancestors and posterity from the speaking of false hood, except when a pious motive intervenes, when this sin is found not to be contracted even by perjury † The legislation by which he is to be guided, in these matters, to use the words of Sir William Jones is "a system of despotism and priestcraft, both indeed limited by law but artfully conspiring to give mutual support, though with mutual checks it is filled with strange conceits in metaphysics and natural philosophy, with idle superstitions and with a scheme of theology most obscurely figurative and consequently liable to dangerous misconception, it abounds with minute and childish formalities, with ceremonies generally absurd and often ridiculous the punishments are partial and fanciful for some crimes dreadfully cruel, for others reprehensibly slight, and the very morals, though rigid enough on the whole are, in one or

* Among the latter class are specified in Manu, (viii 65) the learned in the three Védas, Bráhmans waiting on the sacred fire, and religious devotees who have abandoned the world It is in consequence of the principle here involved that the Bhatyá and other native merchants of Bombay are claiming the right of their high priests (*Maharajas*, or great kings') to decline attendance on the courts of law

† Manu, viii. 66-112 See also above, p 21

two instances, (as in the case of light oaths and of pious purjury) [just alluded to] unaccountably relaxed * It is interesting to notice, in the view of these faults and defects, that, in regard to the boundaries of property, evidence taken is to be recorded in writing, † and that the lowest classes of the population may be useful in giving testimony in this matter Punishments inflicted are to descend with violence inversely as the station in caste of the offenders A Kshatriya defaming a Bráhman shall be fined a hundred [*panas*] a Vaishya, an hundred and fifty, or two hundred, but a Shúdra [acting in this way] shall be corporally punished A Bráhman shall be fined fifty, if he slander a Kshatriya, twenty-five, if a Vaishya, and twelve, if a Shúdra ‡ Fines for theft are to be inflicted in proportion to the status in Caste of the party offending § Adultery is to be treated with much severity, the punishment being a cruel death to be inflicted on the lower orders transgressing with the higher Punishments by kings are said to form atonements for the guilty "Men who have committed, and have received from kings the punishment due to them, go to pure heaven, and become as clear as those who have done well ¶ This dictum, which removes man from his responsibility to God, has taken a great hold of the popular mind in India Native musicians attend the capital executions of the vilest criminals throughout the country, seeking to introduce them into the other world with joy and rejoicing simply be-

* Preface to the Institutes of Manu

† Manu, viii 255-266

‡ Manu, viii 267 268

§ Ibid 337-8

¶ Manu, viii. 318

cause they view their death by the public sentence of the law as an atonement for all their transgressions

It is the duty of the princely Kshatriya to keep the Castes below himself close to the works respectively prescribed for them. He should order the Vaishya to practise trade, or money-lending, or agriculture and attendance on cattle, and the Shudra to act in the service of the twice born. It is incumbent upon him to regulate all market prices, with a due regard to the interests of the buyer and seller.* This principle of Caste law is the foundation of the demand often made on government to interfere in matters of sale and trade. The doctrines of Adam Smith were not in vogue when the laws attributed to Manu were reduced to a Code.

It is also the duty of the Kshatriya to aid the male portion of the community in maintaining its lordship over the female portion. This is a matter of much consequence with the Hindus, and it is so intimately connected with Caste that it may be proper onwards to devote to it a separate section of this work.

3 Leaving the Kshatriya, in the meantime, we proceed to notice the Vaishya, who is the Cattle keeper, the Agriculturist, and the Merchant.

In a passage in the Code of Manu, already referred to, it is said that "to keep herds of cattle, to bestow largesses, to sacrifice, to read the scripture, to carry on trade, to lend at interest and to cultivate land are the

* Manu, viii. 401. Difficulties in regard to this matter are often felt by our own officials particularly in the matter of grain. For hints as to the removal of these difficulties see Colonel Sleeman's Rambles and Recollections vol. 1 chap. 24.

duties of a *Vaishya*”* ‘The natural duties of the *Vaishya*,’ says the *Bhagavad Gita*, ‘are agriculture, keeping of cattle, and the practice of merchandise †. Respecting these duties, indeed, without any hints as to their comparative importance, the information of the later Sanskrit books is throughout self consistent.

In the Law Books, the general ordinances affecting the *Vaishya* are such as the following. After performing the initiatory sacraments, ending with that of the sacrificial thread, and marrying a wife of his own class, he should be attentive to his proper business, especially that of cattle keeping, which he is by no means to overlook, as the Lord of men has committed cattle to his trust in the same way as he has committed men to that of the *Brahman* and the *Kshatriya*. He must never say, “I keep charge of no cattle,” nor must others supersede him in this charge while he is willing to undertake it. With the prices of mercantile commodities he has to be acquainted, especially of gems, pearls, coral, iron, cloth, perfumes and liquids. He has to be skilled in sowing seeds, in the qualities of land, in weights and measures, in the excellence and defects of articles of traffic, in the advantages and disadvantages of different districts, in the probable gain and loss on goods, in the breeding of cattle, in the wages of servants, in the various languages of men ‡ in the best places for keeping

* See above p 17, where the words ‘to cultivate lands’ are by an error omitted

† *Bhagavad-Gita*, xviii 48

‡ The various languages of men

goods and in all measures for effecting purchase and sale. The augmentation of his wealth should command his vigilant care and solicitude, while he is attentive to the giving of nourishment to all sentient creatures.* Considerable intelligence and ingenuity seem to have been requisite for the *Vaishya*'s duties. Let this be marked as an indication of the state of society when the Hindu Law Books were composed.

4 We conclude this sketch by referring to the legal position of the *Shudra*.

In illustration of this position, especially when compared with that of his great master, the Brahman, some notices have already been given by us. The principal duty assigned to the *Shudra* is that of serving the Brahman, the *Kshatriya*, and the *Vaishya*, especially the Brahman, for whose advantage, principally, he has been created. Throughout the Law Books, he is viewed as a domestic slave, to whom servitude is natural and of which he cannot be divested, and whose property even is at the disposal of his master†. From his daily engagements in the family of his superiors, it is obvious that ceremonial ablution was not required to be the consequence of simple contact with him. His religious degradation, however, is complete according to Hindu legislation. On the Brahman the following injunctions are laid in *Manu*—"Let him not give advice to a *Shudra*, nor (except to his own servant) what remains from his own table, nor clarified butter of which part has been offered (to the gods), nor let him

* *Manu*, ix. 326 333

† See above pp. 17 21 23 *Manu* viii. 413 414 x 121 123

give spiritual counsel to such a man, nor inform him of the legal expiation for his sin. Surely he who declares the law to a servile man and he who instructs him in the mode of expiating sin sinks with that very man into the hell named *Asamvrita*** A Brahman is never to be the preceptor of a Shúdra † While the first part of a Brahman's compound name should indicate holiness of a Kshatriya's power and of a Vaišhya's wealth—that of a Shúdra should indicate contempt‡ The Véda is never to be read in the presence of a Shudra ,§ and for him no sacrifice is to be performed ¶ “He has no business with solemn rites”** “They who receive property from a Shúdra for the performance of rites to consecrated fire are contemned, as ministers of the base”†† His gifts, now so acceptable to the Bráhman, were received of old only in the most limited degree, when the Brahman, who had no other means to live, might take from him raw grain enough for a single night ‡‡ In one law, it is thus written —“Shudras engaged in religious duties, must perform each month the ceremony of shaving their heads, their food must be theorts of Bráhmans, and their mode of purification the

* Manu, iv 80-81 Sir William Jones partly on the authority of Kullúka Bhatta a modern commentator on Manu, has here made some interpolations inconsistent with the passage as referring to Bráhmans, and with its context.

† Manu, iii 156

‡ Manu, ii. 81

§ Manu, iv 99

¶ Manu, iii. 178

** Manu xi 13

†† Manu, xi. 42

‡‡ Manu, iv 222 In Manu xi 24 it is said ‘Let no Bráhman ever beg a gift from a Shudra, for if he perform a sacrifice after such begging he shall in the next life be born a Chándála

same with that of a Vaishnya * but this legislation is not consistently regarded "A Brahman is purified by water that reaches his bosom, a Kshatriya, by water descending to his throat † Vaishya, by water taken into his mouth, a Shudra by water touched by an extremity"‡ Graduation in Caste indeed, is preserved in every act and in every ceremony While for example the stick with which a Brahman rinses his teeth, is to be twelve inches long that of a Kshatriya is to be eleven, that of a Vaishya, ten and that of a Shudra, nine When a Brahman to remove a natural defilement, is to make five applications of clay, a Kshatriya is to make four, a Vaishya, three, and a Shudra, and a woman, two † Much is to be found in the "sacred books" in the spirit of these injunctions It is curious to notice that a Brahman is represented as on a level with a Shudra, in religious status, till his "new birth from revealed scripture"§ and that he has to view the state of a Shudra as the ultimatum of his own degradation in the case of the greatest offences ¶

In the greatest events of life and death, the privileges of a Shudra are of a very restricted character He must not marry in any Caste superior to his own ** He must

* Manu, v 40

† Manu, ii 62

‡ Shiva Purana, adh viii In this and other chapters of a little known Purana there is very curious information respecting the worship of Shiva and the observances of his votaries

§ Manu, ii 172

¶ See for example, Manu iii. 17 19

** Manu, iii. 19 'A Brahman, if he take a Shudra to his bed as a first wife, sinks to the regions of torment if he beget a child by her he loses even his priestly rank Ibid iii 17

aid in carrying the body of a Brahman, though even that of his master to the burning or burying ground, that the funeral rites may not be hindered and obstructions to enter heaven may not occur * The southern gate of a town (the most remote from the holy north) is that only by which he can carry his own kinsmen to the grave † His morals are not to be strictly looked after Theft is less heinous in him than in those above him ‡ He may drink the spirit of rice, while it is interdicted to Brahmins, Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas § Probably because of his connexion with Brahmanical households, he ranks higher than artizans to whose occupations he may resort when tormented by hunger|| The cruelty with which he may be punished for the slightest offences against the Bráhmins we have already brought to notice ¶ His murder by a Brahman is equal only to the killing of a cat, an ichneumon, the bird *chasha* (the Indian Roller), a frog a dog a lizard, an owl, or a crow ** His bliss in a future world, or in a future birth, depends principally on his service "Servile attendance on Bráhmins learned in the Veda, chiefly on such as keep house and are famed for virtue, is of itself the highest duty of a Shúdra, and leads him to future beatitude 'ure, humbly serving the higher classes, sweet in speech, ever arrogant, ever seeking refuge in Bráhmins, he may attain the highest class' (in another birth) ††

By some intelligent writers the position and condition of the Indian Shudras, as brought to notice in the *Hi-*

* *Manu*, v. 104

† *Manu*, v. 92.

‡ *Manu*, viii. 337

§ *Manu*, xi. 94

|| *Manu*, x. 99

¶ See above pp. 19 20

** *Manu*, xi. 181

†† *Manu* ix. 334-335

du Law Books, and exhibited in ancient (not the most ancient) India society, has been likened to that of the Helots of Sparta. As far as the deprivation of liberty, the social degradation, and the actual sufferings of both these classes of slaves were concerned, there was doubtless considerable similarity. It must be kept in mind, however, that while the Helots were slaves of the soil and usually employed in agricultural labour, the Shudras were slaves of the household and commonly employed in domestic services. In religious status, the Shudras were lower than the Helots. When a reference is made to their obvious usefulness in olden times, it is difficult to understand the peculiar hate with which, it would seem, they were regarded, unless on the supposition that they were prone,—as well they might be,—to discontent and rebellion, at any rate till a general agreement as to their depression was secured among their superiors.

Of the four classes of Hindus now treated of it is held by the Bráhmans that the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas no longer exist. In explanation of their doctrine on this matter, they refer to the legend of Parashurama an alleged incarnation of the god Vishnu, who is said to have killed all the Kshatriyas in twenty one engagements,* to the destruction of the Yadavas by Krishna, considered also an incarnation of the same god;† and

* For a summary and review of the wild legends connected with Parashurama, see Muir's Texts, pp. 151 174. The slaughter of the Kshatriyas is laid in remote ages, beyond those of the Law Books, and the narrations of it are not available for the purpose for which they are appealed to by the modern Bráhmans.

† The legends of this alleged destruction are given in the Mahábhárata and the Vaishnava Puráṇas. See Wilson's Vishnu Puráṇa, p. 610.

especially to certain passages in the Bhagavata and other Puranas, in which it is prophesied that after king Nanda, son of Mahananda, all earthly power is to be administered by Shudras.* To their allegations on these matters it will be afterwards necessary to refer. In the meantime, I would simply mention one or two historical facts which bear more distinctly on the position of the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas in India than do the legends adduced by the Brahmins. As the conquests of the Aryas,—from whom, as we shall immediately see, the first Brahmins, Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas sprung,—advanced in India, difficulties, arising from the prejudices of race, were felt in giving the status of Kshatriyas and Vaishyas to the rulers and cultivators and merchants of the subjugated tribes while, compared with the general population of these tribes, the pure Aryas must have appeared but few in number. Shákya Muni the founder of Buddhism, who flourished in the first half of the sixth or latter half of the fifth century before Christ, was a Kshatriya and he, and his cause after him, received great patronage and support from the scions of the princely tribe, who became its great propagators, while they seceded from the organized Brahmanical faith and were reckoned apostates by its up-

* See Bhagavata, Skanda vii. 1. In the Vishnu Purana (Wilson s. p. 467) it is said of this Nanda, 'Like another Parashurama, he will be the annihilator of the Kshatriya race, for after him the kings of the earth will be Shudras. Except sometimes in bare lists of kings (requiring a critical consideration and adjustment) the Puranas give no history. To preserve the air of antiquity these writings, which were evidently manufactured in late centuries, give their chronology in a prophetic form.'

holders. The merchants of India, too, clave to Buddhism in great multitudes, as is evident from the inscriptions on the Buddhist Excavations, and is still illustrated in the case of the Jainas of Western India. In the course of ages, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas, mainly of Aryan blood, seeing the peculiar honours claimed by and accorded to Brahmins, not unnaturally aspired, we may suppose, after promotion, and in the miscellaneous society of India, gave themselves out for Brahmins, though by the real priestly class they might not be altogether acknowledged to have this standing. In every province of India there are cultivating and labouring Brahmins so-called, who are not acknowledged by their brethren in general to be of the real stamp, and who claim as their privilege only three of the six constituted works of the Brahmins—those of reading the Vedas, sacrificing for themselves, and giving alms. Examples of this class of Brahmins may be found in the Bhatēś Brahmins of Gujarat,* in the Shenavī Brahmins of the Maratha country and Goa territories, in the Haiga Brahmins of the Karnatika,† and in the Mahastana, or Mastan Brahmins of Odra, or Orissa—who are as likely to have been originally Aryas of the ruling and cultivating tribes seeking elevation in caste, as Brahmins deteriorating themselves by their present employments.‡ It is notorious that in the Bengal Army,

* See Author's Journal of a Tour in Gujarat, in Oriental Christian Spectator 1885, p. 250

† Letter of Huddleston Stokes Esq. to the author

‡ Noticing the Mastan Brahmins, Mr. A. Stirling (Trans. of As. Soc. vol. xv, p. 198) says, "Besides cultivating with their own hands gardens of the Karbu (*Arum Indicum*) cocoanut, and Areca, and the pu-

many of the parties who had professed to belong to the Brahmanhood, have been known to declare themselves to be of a lower grade, to get admittance into regiments in which there was more than the desired supply of Brahmins. All this is said with the full admission of the fact that the Brahmanical theory of the total extinction of the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas is altogether inadmissible. The descent of *some* of the Rajput princes from the ancient Kshatriyas,—with a mixture of foreign and aboriginal blood,—seems undeniable, even without the rapturous advocacy of the modern Pauranika, the worthy and genial Colonel James Tod.

IV.—ORTHODOX VIEW OF THE MIXED CASTES

According to Manu, the original development of humanity was confined to the Four Castes now noticed. 'Three Castes, the Brahman, the Kshatriya, and the Vaishya,' he says, 'are twice born, the fourth, the Shudra, is once born, and there is not a fifth'** These divisions of human society, however, it must be seen at once, are quite inadequate to the exigencies of its progress and history. Other classes of men with other duties, must have appeared in India, as well as in other countries, soon after the first settlement in it of any considerable body of the *per beatles*, or *pan*, they very frequently follow the plough, from which circumstance they are called *Haria Brahmins*, and they are found everywhere in great numbers of *Mukildams* and *Sarbarakars*, or hereditary renters of villages. Those who handle the plough glory in their occupation and affect to despise the *Bed* or *Veda* Brahmins who live upon alms. I have not been able to trace satisfactorily the origin and history of these *Mastan Brahmins* who I am informed re-

descendants of our first progenitor Such classes Hinduism recognizes, but it views them, and certain degraded classes of the people, and other bodies of men not yet within the pale of Hinduism as the issue of connubial intercourse and adultery, and of after-propagation by that issue, and treats them as mules and hybrids* It calls them the Mixed Castes (*Varna Sankara*) The origin thus attributed to them is doubtless entirely of a fictional character The "Mixed Castes," must have originated principally from the increase of occupations in the Hindu community, brought about by the growing demands and division of labour, and by the circumstance of the dominant people (the *A'ryas*, to be immediately noticed), coming in contact with aboriginal tribes, which, keeping in the main beyond the pale of Hinduism, have either been ultimately degraded, or have maintained for themselves in their own retreats a precarious independence I introduce,—with a few explanations,—the information which is given respecting them by Manu We are able to identify several of his designations as those of tribes distinct from that of the dominant class which established Brahmanism, and the system of faith with which it is associated

" Sons, begotten by the twice born on the class immediately below them, wise legislators call similar in class [with their parents, but not the same] because they are degraded by the lowness of their mothers Such is the primeval rule for the sons of women one degree lower

* Commenting on the passage last quoted from Manu, Kulluka Bhatta, as noticed by Mr. Muir (Original Sanskrit Texts, p 175), says, " There is no fifth Caste for Caste cannot be predicated of the mixed tribes, seeing that like mules, they belong to another species distinct from that of their father and mother "

[than their husbands] for the sons of women two or three degrees lower, let this rule of law be known —

“ From a Bráhman, on a Vaishya wife,* is born a son called *Ambashtha*, who, as Manu in another law says, “ should live by curing disorders,” and whose class is recognizable as the *Ambastha* a people mentioned by Ptolemy,† “ and represented as a “ *Vaidya*” or Physician,”‡ on a Shúdra wife, [is born] a *Nisháda*, originally viewed as a “ settled” inhabitant one of the Aborigines, but afterwards appointed “ to catch

* The Code, it will be observed, does not tell us what the offspring of a Bráhman and a *Kshatriya* woman, referred to in the preceding general law, is. Probably a verse has here disappeared from the manuscripts. In the *Sahyadri* Khanda of the Skanda Purana, we find it thus written — विप्राणि मिमेसंयोगा जातो मूर्पाभिषिक्त | राजन्यक्षत्रधर्मेण आधिक सप्रकीर्तिर — The offspring of a *Vipra* (Bráhman on a *Kshatriya* woman) is a *Murdhabhishikta* (anointed in the head), a *Rajanya* (of princely descent) reckoned higher in religion than, a *Kshatriya*. Kulluka Bhatta supplies *Murdhárasikta*, but adds to it, as apparently designations also given to this kind of offspring, *Máháshya*, *Karana* or *Káyastha*. Prefixed to these four designations, Sir W Jones (Manu, x 6) supplies the words “ *They are named in order* ”. But the names are not in the order of four ranks, but expressive of four Castes, alleged to be of one origin and equal status. The *Murdhabhishikta* or *Murdhárasikta*, Caste is held by the Bráhmans to be no longer in existence.

† *Aμβαστα* Pal. *A'μβαστα* Ptol lib vii, Ed Bert p 204

‡ As noticed by Professor Lassen, the appearance of the *Vaidya* here is puzzling, but probably the Code had it in view to give to a *Vaidya* more than the rank of a *Vaishya*, as each of these mixed classes partakes in the dignity of the father. Onwards the Code gives to the *Ambashtha*, the cure of disorders, dropping the *Vaidya* out of view. It is probable that the country of the *Ambashthas*, like the *Karnatika* of the present day, furnished remarkable physicians or travelling quacks.

fish, ** named also *Páashava*, in the *Játi Viveka*, and the *Sahyadri Khanda*—a *Sonár* or goldsmith †

“ From a Kshatriya, on a Shudra wife, springs a creature called *Ugra*, —the patronymic of a people in the time of the Vedas, perhaps the original of the Hungarian nation,—“ with a nature partly warlike and partly servile ferocious in his manners, cruel in his acts, and commanded,—with the Kshattri and Pukasa to be afterwards mentioned,—“ to live by killing animals that live in holes.” †

“ The sons of a Brahman by [women of] three [lower] classes, of a Kshatriya by [women of] two, and of a Vaishya, by one [lower] class, are called *Apasada*, or degraded

“ From a Kshatriya by a Brahman woman, is born a

* At the time of the *Mahábhárata*, (Rájádharmmannásháshana parva, vv 2209 2218 Cal Ed vol m p 443) the *Nishádas* and *Mlechchás* dwelling in the *Vindhya* mountains, and the reputed descendants of the wicked *Vena* are reckoned at a hundred thousand (classes?) The picture of the *Nisháda* there given seems to have had a party like the *Bhilla* for its type, a being spoken of as ‘deformed, dwarfish, of the colour of charred wood, with red [furious?] eyes, and black hair To this description of him we shall afterwards advert

† The classing of a goldsmith with a *Nisháda* seems curious but the *Nisháda* was not considered so alien from the ruling race as is commonly supposed In the *Rámayana* 1 83 we find Rama spoken of as meeting with Cula “ the pious, and beloved prince of the *Nishádas*” (गृह्णाता निशादानिधार्ति चित् १३) The Bombay goldsmiths however don't like to be associated with the *Nishádas*, and plead for being considered a sort of *sām* Brahmins The *Sahyadri Khanda* gives to the *Sonár*, viewed as a *Parshevī* more than the religious status of a Shudra It denominates him a *Mahashúdra*, or great Shudra That work however, is but a late production

‡ In the *Sahyadri Khanda* of the *Skanda Purana*, the *Ugra* gets the rank of a Rajput.

Súta" [the "sent"], to "live by managing horses and driving cars," and who, of old, must have been the great traditional bard, or reciter, of the families in which he was found

"From a *Vaishya*, by a military or sacerdotal wife, springs a *Mághada*,¹ "authorized to travel with merchandise,"—and probably an aboriginal inhabitant of the province of *Maghada*,² "and a *Vaidéha*", of the country of *Vidéha*,—first mentioned in the *Sanskrit* writings as belonging to King Janaka,—"to live by waiting on women"

"From a *Shúdra*, on a *Vaishya*, *Kshatriya*, or *Brahman* woman, are born sons of a mixed breed, called *A yogava* (a monstrous junction), a *Kshattri*,³ "a degraded being who must live by killing animals," "and a *Chándala*, the lowest of mortals, —† whose tribe is recognized by Ptolemy as that of the *Kandah*, or *Gondah*, on the river *Tapti*,‡ (perhaps the *Gonds*,—adjoining the *Phyllitæ*, of the same author, identified as the *Bhills*,—or the *Gondhakis*, still a wandering tribe of the *Maharashtra*)

"From a *Brahman*, by an *Ugra* female, is born an *A vrīta*, by one of the *Ambashtha* tribe, an *A bhīra*⁴—designated from *Abira*, of Ptolemy, on the banks of the *Indus*, and represented by *A hr* the name of a class of shepherds in *Sindh*, *Kachh*, and *Káthiawad*,⁵ by one of the *Ayogava* tribe, a *Dhigiana*, § "appointed to sell leather"

* The *Mahabharata* professes to have been recited by *Ugrasravas* the son of the *Súta* *Lomaharshana*, who is said, however, to have received it from *Vaishampayana*, a disciple of *Vyasa*, the reputed 'compiler, as his name bears, of the *Vedas* and *Shastras*

† *Manu*, x. 6-12

‡ *Manu*, x. 15

§ *Ptol Geo Ed Bertu* p. 204

“ The son of a *ishada* by a Shúdra woman is by tribe a *Pukkasa*,” “ to live by killing animals that live in holes,” “ but the son of a Shudra by a Nishadí woman, is named *Kukkutaka*”

“ One born of a Kshattrí by an *Ugra* is called *Svapka* (dog eater), and one begotten by a *Vardéha* on an *Ambashthu* woman is called *Véna*,” “ who should strike musical instruments ” *

“ Those whom the twice born beget on women of equal classes, but who perform not the proper ceremonies, people denominate *Vrátya*, or excluded from the Gáyatrí

“ From such an outcast Bráhman springs a son, of a sinful nature, named a *Bhúryakantaka*, an *A'vantya*, a *Váladhána*, a *Pushpadha*, and a *Shaukha*,”—who seem to have been inhabitants of the countries near the western part of the Vindhya range

“ From such an outcast Kshatriya comes a son called *Jhalla* (Rajguru), a *Malla* (wrestler), a *Nichhavi*, † *Nata* (a dancer) a *Karana*, a *Khasa*” (of the Khasya tribe), and a *Dravula*,”—of the eastern coast of the peninsula

“ From such an outcast Vaishya is born a son called *Sudhanvá*, *Charyya*, *Kárusha*, *Vijanma*, *Mantra*, and *Sátvata*, ”—the last mentioned being near the Vindhya ‡

“ A *Dasyu*, ”—originally a non-Aryan,—“ or outcast of any pure class, begets, on an *Ayoga* woman, a *Sairindhra*, who should know how to attend and dress his master

* *Véna* comes from *Víná*, a lyre.

† This is supposed by Professor Lassen to be for *Lachavi*, a class of people, noted as warriors, in the East of India.

‡ *Mann x.* 17-23

“A Vaidéha begets on her a sweet-voiced *Maitréyaka*, who ringing a bell (or gong) at the appearance of dawn, continually praises great men

“A *Nisháda* begets on her a *Màrgava*, or *Dasha*, who subsists by his labour in boats, and is named *Kavarta*, by those who dwell in *Aryavarta* *

“From a *Nisháda*, by a Vaidéha woman, springs a *Karávara*, who cuts leather, and from a Vaidéha by women of the *Kárvára* and *Nishada* castes an *Andhra* (of the eastern part of the peninsula), and a *Méda* † who must live without the town,”—perhaps of the degraded *Meda* (“*Mair*”) tribe in *Rajputáná*

“From a *Chándala*, by a Vaidéha woman, comes a *Pandusopaka*, who works with cane and reeds, and from a *Nishada*, an *Ahindika*,’ said to be a “jailor”

“From a *Chandala* by a *Pukassi* woman, is born a *Sopáka*, who lives by punishing criminals, a sinful wretch ever despised by the virtuous

“A *Nishadi* woman, by a *Chandala*, produces a son called *Antyavasayi* (performer of the lowest actions) employed in places for burning the dead, contemned even by the contemptible” ‡

“The following races of *Kshatriyas*, by their omission of holy rites and by seeing no *Bráhmans*, have gradually sunk among men to the lowest of the four classes [the *Shúdras*] —*Paudrakas*, [of the east of *India*] *Odras* [of *Orissa*], and *Davidas* [of the south east of *India*], *Kambojas*, *Yavanas* [*Greeks*], and *Shakas* [*Sacæ*], *Pára-*

das, Pahlavas [Persians], *Chinas* [Chinese],* *Kuṇṭas*, *Daradas*, and *Khashas* [all identified as names of peoples and tribes]. All those tribes of men which are sprung from the classes produced from the mouth, the arm, the thigh, and the foot of Brahma, became outcasts and are called *Dasyus*, whether they speak the language of the *Mlechchhas*, or that of the *Aryas* †

The Mixed Classes of the Hindus, even in their generic designations, are now far more numerous than those which are here indicated, though doubtless there has been a great indisposition on the part of the Brahmans to extend them nominally beyond those found mentioned in the more ancient Law Books. This fact may be illustrated by any of the Tabular views of the Castes constructed by the natives in any of the provinces of India,—as in that of the Maharashtra or Maratha country a transliteration and translation of which, in an abridged form may, with its introductory matter, be here introduced, as the most distinct and precise document of the kind procurable ‡

I “The *Brahmans* have proceeded from the mouth of the god Brahma. They have a right to the performance and use of the Sixteen Sacraments and the Six religious Works.” The Sixteen Sacraments (*sanskaras*), here alluded to, are the following —*garbhádhana*, sacrifice to promote conception, or acknowledge it when it occurs,

* The occurrence of the *Chinas* and *Yavanas* in this verse indicates this portion of Manu to be later than the time of the Greeks in India.

† Manu x. 43-45. See, on some of the tribes here mentioned, Wilson's *Vishnu Purana*, p 177

‡ This character I give it on comparing the Marathi Tables with the similar documents of Bengal, the Gwalér State, Orissa, the Canarese country, the Tamil country, Malayahm, etc

punsavana, sacrifice on vitality in the foetus, *anatalobhana*, sacrifice in the third month of pregnancy, *Vishnubali*, sacrifice to Vishnu in the seventh month of pregnancy, *simantonnayana*, sacrifice in the fourth, sixth or eighth month, *jatakarma*, the birth ceremony, giving the infant clarified butter from a golden spoon before dividing the navel string, *namakarana* naming the child on the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, or hundred and-first day, *mishkramana*, carrying him out to be presented to the moon on the third lunar day of the third light fortnight, *suryavalokana*, carrying him out to be presented to the sun in the third or fourth month, *annaprashana*, feeding him with rice in the sixth or eighth month, or when he has cut his teeth, *chudakaryya*, tonsure, in the second or third year *upanayana*, investiture with the string in the fifth, eighth, or sixteenth year, *mahanamya* instruction in the gayatri mantra, after the Munja, the ceremony of investment with the sacrificial cord, *samavartana*, loosing the Munja from the loins, *vinaha*, marriage, with its immediate antecedents and concomitants, *svargarohana*, funeral ceremonies and obsequies, to forward the entrance of the spirit into Svarga, or heaven * The dispensation of such of the Sacraments here mentioned as precede birth, is attended with the injury of all delicate feeling in families. There is much ceremony, without any really moral import, in all the Hindu Sacraments. The Six Constituted works of the Brâhmans have been already mentioned †

2 'The *Kshatriyas* have proceeded from the arm

* In this mention of the Sacraments, I have principally followed Molesworth (Dictionary, p 886) But compare Steele's Summary of the Law and Customs of Hindu Caste, p 30

† See above, p 17

of the god They have a right to the use of the Sixteen Sacraments and Three religious Works

3 " The *Vaishyas* have proceeded from the foot of the god. They have a right to the use of the Sixteen Sacraments and Three religious Works

4 " The *Shudras* have proceeded from the foot of the god They have a right to the use of Twelve Sacraments through the *Nama Mantras** Their duty is to serve the other three Castes

" Thus were created the Four Castes (*varnas*) The god Brahma also produced some Mind born Sons One of these was Kashyapa Rishi [the son of Marichi one of the Mind-born Sons], who gave birth to the gods (*Devas*) and Titans (*Daityas*), and so continued the progression of the world.† The Brahmans had the

* The principal Sacraments not allowed to Shudras are *Upanayana*, *Mahānāmya*, and *Samavarttana*. The *Nāma-Mantras* are the simple invocations of the names of the gods, as distinguished from Vedic texts.

† In the doctrine of the Mind born sons of Brahma, here alluded to (designedly in an obscure form, for preventing the charge of inconsistency), there is, even in Manu (1. 32 et seq.), a theory of the origin of the human race quite inconsistent with the orthodox view of the origin of Caste "Having divided his own body into two parts, the lord [Brahma, the creator] became, with the half, a male, and with the half, a female, and in that female he created *Virāj*. Know, O most excellent of Brāhmans, [Manu is here represented as speaking to Bhrigu, one of the Mind born Sons, or Sons formed by Manu] that I am the person whom that male *Virāj* after performing devotion, created I who am the creator of all this [world] Being desirous to form creatures, I performed very arduous devotion, and first created ten *Maharshis*, (great Rishis) the lords of creatures Marichi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Pracheeta, Vashushta, Bhrigu, and Nārada. They, endued with great energy, created seven other *Manus* and *Devas*, and the abodes of *Devas*, and *Maharshis* of boundless power *Yakshas*, *Rukhasas*, *Pishāchas*, *Gan-*

custom of receiving in marriage females of all the four Castes (the wife of his own Caste being the first.) The Kshatriyas married the females of three Castes, including their own. The Vaishyas were to exclude the females of the Bráhman and Kshatriya Castes, and to marry those of their own and the Shúdra Caste. The Shudras were permitted to contract marriages only in their own Caste. Such was the custom of the former ages. The offspring of such marriages is called the *Anuloma*,* The offspring of unlawful connexions between the higher Caste men and lower caste women is called the *Pratiloma*†. The period for the investiture with the sacred thread of the male issues of the Bráhman, Kshatriya, and Vaishya Castes is [properly] restricted to the age of nine years (to the commencement of the

dharvas, Apsaras, Asuras, Nágas, Serpents, Suparnas, and the different classes of Pitrí, .. Kinnaras, apes, fishes, various birds, beasts, deer Men, and wild animals with two rows of teeth. Thus by my appointment [that of Manu, the son of the self-existent] and by the force of devotion, these great ones created all this movable and immovable world with separate actions allotted to each creature." To this passage, as opposed to the orthodox theory of Caste, I directed attention in my lectures to the youth of Bombay many years ago. Mr. Muir (whose translation I have adopted in giving it, O S T p. 16), I am glad to notice thus refers to it — "It will be observed that among the creatures formed by the ten Mahársis are Men, who are not specified as being of any particular caste. How does this creation by the Mahársis consist with the four being created separately, and by the immediate act of Bráhma, as described in verse 31, [in which they are spoken of as brought from his head, hands, etc.]?

* From *Anu*, with, and *loma*, hair, grain, or line, meaning in the direct line of nature.

† The reverse of the preceding

ninth year)* Those whose thread ceremony has not been solemnized within that period are called *Vrātya*. The children born to the *Vratyas* by adultery with the women of their own caste are called the *Vrātya Santati* (*Vratya* progeny). Again, those born of illegal connexion of the men of any one of the above-mentioned castes with the women of any other caste are called the Mixed Castes (*Sankara Jāti*). The authors of the *Jāti-Viveka*, the *Brahajjati Viveka*, the *Madhava Kalpalita*, and the *Parashurama Pratāpa* [works of authority among the Maratha Brahmans] say there are many Mixed Castes in this last age (*Kali-Yuga*) which cannot be determined and described. Yet, with the help of Manu and the other *Rishis*, they enumerate 134 produced from the *Anulomas* and *Prathomas*, and the mixture (by the *Sankara Jāti*) of the four original Castes. They describe their modes of subsistence, and notice the Castes which are referable to the *Sankara-Jāti* and those which are not. The following is the sum of them —

Directly from god—the Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shudra	4
From the <i>Anuloma</i> —the Mūrdha-Vasikta, the Ambashtha, the Pārashava, the Mahishya, the Ugra, and the Vaitāhika Karana Charana	6
From the <i>Prathoma</i> —the Suta, the Vaidehika, the Chāndāla, the Māgadha, the Kshata Nishāda the Ayogava	6
From the <i>Vrātyas</i> and the <i>Sankaras</i> together according to the preceding books	36
To which are to be added, from the <i>Parashurāma Pratāpa</i> ,	22
Total of Castes enumerated	134 "

* See the injunction of Manu on this matter above, pp. 15-16. But compare with it, for the application of the term *Vrātya*, the *Mahābhārata*, *Anushashana Parva*, 6 2621 —The three outcaste classes are the Chāndala, the *Vrātya*, and the *Vaidya*, begotten by a Shudra on females of the Brahman, Kshatriya, and Vaishya classes respectively.

TABULAR VIEW OF THE CASTES ABOVE REFERRED TO

From the Brahman to the Shud a here the Kunbi or Cultivator

Caste	Satirist's name	Māthi den mi	English description	Male Parent	Female Parent	Processus
1 Brahman	Bráhma	Bráhman	Bráhman	Bráhman	Bráhman	Regular
2 Murddhishbikta		Anointed in the head	Brahman	Kshatriya		Anuloma
3 Kshatriya	Kshatriya	Kshatriya	Kshatriya	Kshatriya	Kshatriya	Regular
4 Ambashtha	Vadya	Ambashtha	Bráhman	Vaishya	Vaishya	Anuloma
5 Vaishya	Vaishya	Vaishya	Vaishya	Vaishya	Vaishya	Regular
6 Mahi hya	Joshi	Mahi hya or Joshi	Kshatriya	Vaishya	Vaishya	Anuloma
7 Kunda-Golaka	I unda Golaka	Kuṇḍa Golaka	Bráhman	Bráhman wife of another		Adultery
8 Randa-Golaka	Ran da Golaka	Ran da Golaka	Bráhman	Bráhman-widow		Adultery
9 Bhukaka or Ambaka	Apar Amba hthi	Bhukaka or Ambaka	Bráhman	Kshatriya	Kshatriya	Adultery
10 Súta	S ratni	Charioteer or Bara	Kshatriya	Bráhman	Pratilo ma	
11 Pashava	Sonar	Goldsmith	Bráhman	Shudra		Anuloma
12 Ugra	Rajput	Ugra	Kshatriya	Shudra		Anuloma
13 Kansyakura	Kánsar	Bell-metal-worker	Shúraséna, Adhika-Kshatriya	Shúraséna, Adhika-Kshatriya		Perse ration §
14 Brjjakantha	Prathama-Bairagi	1 Bairagi	Bráhman	Bráhman	Vratya Santi	
15 Avartaka	Dwitiya-Banagi	2 Do	Vrátya			
			Anupanita			
16 Katadhani	Tritiya-Banagi	3 Do	Brijakantha or Prathama-Bairagi	Bráhman or Prathama-Bairagi		Do
17 Pushpashekha	Chaturtha-Bairagi	4 Do	Avartaka or Bráhman Dwitiya-Bairagi	Bráhman or Tritiya-Bairagi		Do

Or Murdhávisikha Now it gets the ext of

Now it gets the ext of

‡ Goldsmiths are important persons in the community. Many say they here inserted by f
ns all the handicrafts according to the Caste theory should rank lower than Shudras. They are, however, Bráhman progenitors ascribed to them.

§ By a Kshatriya adopting a trade, as is said

¶ The Bairágis,—o Várdags,—are devotees of Viśnu, and properly a sect of a caste. The numeric distinctions in Maśáth (1, 2, 3, 4) are purely arbitrary

Cast	Seal & deno- m in	Mythi deno- nat n	Engl i d no t i a.	Male Pa nt	Female Pa nt	Per ce	u
18	Mágadha.	Gu ja Upásaka	Mdg lada	Brahman	I u hpashe khara		
19	Shesvatika	Dévapdja Ka- ranar	<i>Idol-dresser</i>	Bráhman	Magadha		
20	Sudhanvacharya	Jang m etc of Bháruda, Vi five kinds of janná, Mai treyá, Sárváta,	Vrátýa-van sha anu puncta	Vrátýa-van sha anu puncta	Vaishya	Vrátýa S	
21	Shudra.	Kunb.	<i>Cultivator</i>	Shudra	Shudra		Regular

Of the Status of the Cultivators

22	Abhir	Gíwaʃ	<i>Herdsmans†</i>	Brahman	Mahúshya		
23	Mágadha Bandi- jana	Bhátaʃa ha	<i>Minister of the Mugadhas</i>	Vaishya	Kshatráya		Praglo- ma
24	Nápita	Nhávi	<i>Barber</i>	Brahman	Shudra		
25	Apara N piat	Nha i	<i>Barber</i>	Mágadha	Ugra		
26	Jhalla	Rágguru	<i>Jhalla</i>	Kshatrá- ya	Shudra or	Vrátýa S	Kshatráya
27	M illa	Jethí †	<i>Wrestler</i>	Jhalla	Kshatráya		
28	Vichuka	Ch trdhár or Wári	<i>Um brella holder</i>	Brahman	Vádéhika		
29	Suda	Sayampáki	<i>Cool</i>	Suta	Vád hika		
30	Kánsyakára	Bogar Kansar	<i>Clumsy, Bra- ter</i>	Brahman	Amba htha		
31	Kínsava	Támbat	<i>Copj eranith</i>	Kshatrá- ya	Eurashava		
32	Rathakára	Sutár §	<i>Carpenter</i>	Mahúshya	Charaní		Váitálaka

Lower than Shudras

33	Váitálka Kara- na, or Chárana	Dhadhi (?)		Vaishya	Shudra	Amuloma	
34	Káyastha.	Prabhu or Par bhu	<i>K Parbhú</i>	Vádéhika	Mahúshya		
35	Apara Kayastha	Prabhu or Par bhu	<i>Parbhú</i>	Káyastha	Káyastha widow		
36	Parábhá	Farábhá		Vrátýa Pra- bhú bro- ther	Prabhu sist- er	Incest	
37	Andhásyaka	Bhadabhunja	<i>Grain-parcher</i>	Vádéhika	Shudra		
38	Manikára	Vidhári	<i>Jueller</i>	Kshatráya	Vaishya	Adultery	
39	Shalikana (?)	Katar	<i>Turner</i>	úlkára	K yastha		

* This is a late interpolation the Jangamas being the priests of the Lingáyits a modern sect.

† From the Sanskrit *Jyes̄ha*, heef. § Duty of the preceding.

‡ Insinuation from Bráhmanical hatred the Káyasthas, or Parbhús being next level of the Bráhma-
a the matter of office-employment

Castes	Banerjee's deno- nation	Murdhī denomi- nation	English deno- mination	Male Parent	Female Parent	Procession
40 A yogava	P tharavat	Stone-dresser	Shudra	Vaishya	Pratilo	ma
41 Kumbhakāra	Kumbhār	Potter	Brāhmaṇa	Ugra		
42 Gandhaka	Gandhi	Perfumer	Ugra	Ambashtha		
43 Vatsalā	Gorākhi	Cowherd	Shudra	Kānsyakāra		
44 Sūndhara Mar- dani (?)	Ang Mardani	Appliers of un- guents	Malla	Kshatriya		
45 Chhāgalika	Shēlaka	Cowherd	Kaṭadhīna	Bandjana or Mingadhi		
46 Sūndolaka	Shimpī	Taylor	Shudra	Bhanda		
47 Vastra-Vikrayi	Kapadā-Vika- nār Shimpī	Clothier- Taylor	Shudra	Ayogava or Pāthara- vāja		
48 Shābala	Unknown*		Brāhmaṇa	Bandjana		
49 Shankaughna	Shankarughna		Kayastha	A yogava		
			Prabhu			
50 Mālikāra	Mali	Gardener	Mahīshya	Nishada		
51 Phala-Vikrayi	Phal Vikanār	Flower-seller	Brāhmaṇa	Kalavanta		
52 Kagalika	Kavāḍi Kashf	Fruit-seller	Shudra	Ugra		
53 Jāyika	Jasud	Messenger	Nishāda	Ugra		
54 Shayapāla	Phrās	Bed-maker	Sairandhra	Dwāra-rak- shaka		
55 Nīghada-Pāru- shava	Nīcha-Sonār	Low-Sonār	Brāhmaṇa	Shudra		
56 Mahāgurj	Ush Karhekar	Camel-man	Kshata-Nī- shāda	Avartaka		
	trapūla		Kshāmak			
57 Magutavalli (?)	Chora Rakshak	Watchman	Brāhmaṇa	Bandjana		
58 Bhasma-Sankara	Gurava	Dresser of Idols	Mahā Tap- asvi Brā- hmaṇa	Married Shudra		
59 Suchala and Ku- chal	Gondhali	Musician	A ndhu	Vardhika		
60 Maitriya	Gondhali	Rude-Musi- cian	Vardhika	A yogava		
61 Cītrikara	Shankavati and Rājavah		A vartaka	Dhigvāpa		
			Kumbhār			
62 Prasadika	Gaundi	Mason	A yogava	Kaiwartaka		
63 Aurabhre	Dhangar	Shepherd	Brījākanta	Chhagalf		
64 Sangara (?)	Sangar	Shepherd	Shudra	A bhīr		
65 Vardhika	Kunta	Tip	Vaishya	Brāhmaṇa	Pratilo	ma
66 Kshēmaka	Dwāra-rakshak	Doorkeeper	Kshata-Nī- shāda	Ugra		
	Chobdār					
67 Ulmuka	Lohar	Black mill	Kshatriya	Magadha		
68 Ishukāra	Man- dalk	Tūgar and Ka- mangar	Abhūr	Bikunsha		

The name said to be Sanskrit, is as given in the original

<i>Caste</i>	<i>Sanskrit deno- mination</i>	<i>Mardiki denomi- nation</i>	<i>English deno- mination</i>	<i>Mals Pareet</i>	<i>Fam lePa ent</i>	<i>I</i>
69 I huk ra	Tiggar		Archers	Abhir	Kurutaki	
70 Mausalika (?)	T i		Or ian	Parashara	T tra	
71 N gavalli	Vik	Famboli	Beti leaf seller	Kancharif	Kumbhak a	
72 K apchakara	K ochKaranfir		G lassmaker	Shalmalf	A urtaka	
73 Shakilya	Nieha Nh vi		Loi Baroer	Napita	M iga	
74 Shambra	Sif		Weaver	A vataka	V na	
75 Kuravinda	Koshif		Weaver and Spinner	A artaka	Kulluna	
76 Shaushika (?)	Tasarival ur Kosht		Mer of course silk cloth Loro Weaver	Kul kuta	A bhir	
77 N ilikara	N ihi		I ridodoyer	A bhur	K ukut	
78 Raukika	Kit Louarf		Chereval naler	Maha	A urtaka	
79 Yav sika and Shik lya	Ki rid and Ch bukswar		G ass-cutter Horse Trainer	P sulaka	I ulkasa	
80 Patala	P angul		I rugul beggars	Pasutul a	Shudra	
81 Dasyu	Bh amaty		Thieves	K uru nd	K amatrala	
82 V na	Bahumpi		Mash weavers Playmen	Amu htha	V aad hika	
83 Br kunsha	Jumbhaka and Ak t		Fortune-tell ers etc	A yorava	M gadha B aly na	
84 Kalavanta	Kal kanta and Kaval		Dapce s	Nat	M alu hya	
85 Pauhntika	Bhui		Beau ts	Pr hman	N ihabla	
86 Pashupalya or Pashu Vikarayi	W anjira		W anjho	Paushsika	N i hida	
87 Kaivartaka	Dbiwar Kul		Ba jja	P uashava	A yogava	
88 Dh gyan	J ngar		Fisher man	Br hman	A ychava	
89 Karaman	Shukalgar		Un b shes	Deser ut not recorded		
90 Utiraka	Otar		Caster and Founder	Karamana	Chitrakura	
91 Shuddha Mi gaka	Chadashi or Wasantri		(Low) Musi cian	M gadhi	M alushy	
92 Krodhakukkuta	Lakejli		Mint han	Shudur	J h ta N h dr	

*Lower than the preceding but higher than Chandulas
They do it outside in villages*

93 Bandhukha	Jh reku	Remelter of metallic dross	Maitreja	Jadlinka
94 Kashtraputri	Badhaf	Box-maker	Kuvaril a	Al f tur lka
95 Dhusakaria	Ghisad	C — Blacksmith	Karamana	su

Castes	Sanskrit I n name	Modi n name	Ethical den omination	Male Pre t	Female Pre t	Procession
96 Shalika		Nilband	User of animals	Kashṭaq̄'tra kira	Brahman	
97 Karma Chind ala		Boldar	Stone-digger	Brahman	Brahman wi dow	
98 Mingu htha		Chens Lenirf	Lime-burner	Sanuvasi	Jadhuha	
99 Manjuha		Parit	Washerman	Vaid hskr	Ugra	
100 Nata		Kollatf or Dobarf	Tumbler or Dancer	Shulindhra Mardans	Khatruja	
101 Sutradhara		Chitra-kathf or Kali-Sutri	Doll-Dancer	A yogava	Rathakara	
102 Rajikaria		Kiuyarf	Rope-twister	Bryakontha	Avartaka	
103 Kshata Nishrda		Phai se-Piradhi	Snarer	Shudha	Kshatriya	Pratiloma.
104 Kishuka		Birud	Basketmaker	Kavartaka	Kuravinda	
105 Apura Kishukri		Kalkad	Basketmaker	Daishada	Dhugvana	
106 Kh'irotpidaka		Kutkar	Ketikartt	U hitrap 1	Brahman	
107 Angshuka Mag d like		Kutewan	Dogman	Pushp sh khar	KarmaChen dala	
108 Ah tundaka		Cārudf	Player with s Jarts	Vaidchiku	Nishada	
109 Ghelha ~		Vad if	Vad +	N hida	Ahi tundai	
110 Charmaka or Kri Jri		Chambhir	Vocmal ci	Dh grapa	Nish da	
111 Vaishy Glytka		Bisphod	Ba jibu Splitter	Avaptika	K ririma	
112 Chuladhyu		Nicha Parit	Low Washer- man	Kavartaka	Karuna	
113 Samal		Khitik	Butef or	Karma-ch u d la	Kavartaka	
114 San haka		Kalal	Distiller	Vena	A bhkr	

The touch of the following requires ablution of dress :

115 Durbhara	Mor	Curries	A yogava	Dh gama
116 Meda	Gon la and Thakur	Go la and Jit ktr	Vaid huka	Karuna
117 Bh illa	Bhilla	Bhilla	Kavartaka	Karwari
118 Billa	Ramu 1 and B'rad	Berad Ramu- sh	Ant vas yf	Pulkasa
119 Tavira	Lakh il or Ni cha Otril	Varnielers Dealers in lac	Hastaka	Meda
<i>From the Chandala to the Cannibal</i>				
120 Ch illa	H ndu Halal khor	Scavengers	Spudra	Brahman
121 Pallasa	Dongar Kul	H ill Kuji	Ni hada	Shudra

Ju le tribe, makers of cattle

Wanderin, tribe rit-cutters, stone dressers &c

† सच्चिदस्त्रान्, Sasth 7 smr

caste	San kriti de on mi l on	Murdiki denon i at on	English de on ination	Male Parent	Female Parent	Procreation
122 Turushka	Gonda, Tuika man Meelch cha etc*			Nisháda	Médada	
123 Shvapáka†	Pratham Mahir	1 Maher	Chándala	Pulkasa		
124 Antévasayi	Dwritya Mahi	2 Mahas	Chándala	Nisháda		
	Dom					
125 Plava	Tritiya Maher	3 Maher	Chándala	A ndhra		
126 Kravyádhī	Chatur ha Ma hár	4 Mahdr	Shvapáka	Plava		
127 Hastaka	Pancham Maher	5 Maher	Chándala	Kravyádhī		
128 Káktaka	Sáhava Maher	6 Maher	Shvapáka	Hastaka		
129 Heshaka	Nicha Mahár	Low Maher	Doma Anté vasayi	Nátagi		
130 Chésha	Ati nicha Maher	Lowest Maher	Turushka	Chándala		
131 Shrapacha	Máng	Mang	Chándala	Méda		
132 Mítanga	Máng	Low Mang	Plava	Antévasiyi		
133 Malyahír Yava na	Musalman Halál khor Sojar+	Soldier	Turushka	Súda		
134 Manushya Bhakshaka	Adam Khor	Cannibal	Chándala	Méda		

" Besides the Castes above enumerated, it is added to the Tables, " there are other Castes,—in the city of Puná eleven,—the origin of which cannot be explained according to the Shastras. Altogether, the Recognized Castes in the Maratha Country amount to 145. The rank popularly assigned to these Castes does not in each instance accord with that established by the Shastras."

The list, though comprehending but the families and genera of the local Castes, is indeed, far from being complete. But to this subject we must afterwards return in another connexion. Our object at present has been merely to illustrate the principle according to which, in the orthodox view, varieties in Caste have originated. The mode of their actual development will require special and distinct notice.

This shows that the Brahmins are but poor ethnographers.

* Dog-eaters, the San kriti denominations, it will be observed are all attributed to the Maháras a degraded Aborigines, the British authoritatively set forth " of six degrees."

† Let the British writer mark the place here as I signed to him. The Brahmins of id to put the " Bahá here and they excuse themselves by saying that they have got a share of the Rájdhá kára (authority of government) claimed by the ancient Kshattriyas. Some of the Brahmins hold that the Yavanas and Europeans should take rank after the Turushkas, but this is of little consequence as they are still left between the Chándala and Cannibal.

To this it has to be added, that the view of the origin and position of the castes here given is that to which orthodox Hinduism adheres to the present day. This is obvious not only from some of the authorities from which the preceding matter has been drawn, but from the representations constantly made by the Brâmans in their intercourse with their pupils, and in their popular expositions of Hinduism, such as the Hindu Dharma Tatva of Gangâdhar Shastri Phadake long the Pandit of the Bombay Education Society and Elphinstone College in Bombay published only in a few years ago * This author tells us for example, that the *Brahman* has got intelligence (*buddhi*), disposing him to his own six peculiar works that the *Kshatriya* is directed by his nature to his appointed employments, that the *Vaishya* is urged by innate inclination to his prescribed work and that the *Shudra* is destined by his 'course intellect' to his mean engagements. The four first castes, he says, have existed from the creation, and those of the *Sankha* (through the *Anuloma* and the *Pratiloma*) from early times. The number of castes, he holds, is on the increase to the present day, bringing them,—by differences and distinctions of country, of custom of conduct, of food and livelihood of works (good, indifferent, and low), of attachment to particular gods, and of sectional opinion,—up to "thousands upon thousands. This increase, he adds, is doubtless "according to the will of God, and not without its advantages which should be acknowledged by the powerful Government of this country which would find it difficult to overthrow even the most modern of them. The advantages of caste, he begs the natives to observe, are undeniable, though he does not specify them, while there is nothing disgraceful in the meanest services prescribed by the caste system, the very Shudras having Mahars, and Mangs, and others, as much subordinated to them as they

* See Hindu Dharma Tatva pp 60 77

themselves are subordinated to the Brahmans. To persons of low caste seeking learning, not called for by their original position, he expresses no good will, as he teaches that they will upset the order of things, to the production of general inconveniences and difficulties. In all this he is but a representative man of the orthodox, and still prevailing school. Old India directs its uniform effort to the conservation of caste with all its peculiarities and pretensions. Everything adverse to caste it interprets as a sure sign or omen of the advance of the Kali Yuga or iron age, preparatory to the destruction of the universe as guessed at in the curious attempts at prophecy made in the Puranas on the first threatenings or realization of Muhammadan conquest in the North of India.*

* The following very curious specimen of these prophecies is here worthy of attention —

"Men of three tribes will conquer Shudra. A tribe of Sis Arbuda and Marbhumi and Shudra as castes and Lobi will be arts of the three Darsika, the Chaud bhais and Kasiwi. These will be to power in the reigns of the art kings of the Kali part, violate temples and adulterate flocks and flocks. They will be death in women children, and wealthy will seize power from subjects they will be limited power dwelt for the most part rapidly rise and fall. Their will be in their cities and they will play but little pity. The people of the earth's country will turn to them in following their example and the barbarian beginning power in the power whilst the tribe neglected, the people will perish. Wealth and money will decrease day by day until the world will wholly depaved. Then property alone will confer rank wealth will be the only cause of devotion passing will be the sole bond of union between the sexes. Falsehood will be the means of success in litigation and women will be objects merely of sexual gratification. Earth will be unruled but for the treasure as the Brahmanical thread will constitute Brahman; external types (the taff and red garb) will be thoroughly distinct. The several orders of life of honesty will be the only salva of the life of weakness will be the use of dependence men and except on will be substituted for the liberal by will be done on simple ablutions will be purified in mutual sent will be in running, fine cloth will be dugout and when off will be seen to be poor. Amidst such castes he who through the reigns of a principality the virtue by many fault. The people unable to bear the heavy load imposed upon them by the anxious so reigns will take of a long time. The unit will will be glad to feed upon wild honey, herb root, flowers and leaves their only comfort will be the bark of trees and they will be exposed to the cold and wind and sun and the life will be three and twenty years. Thus in the Kali age shall decay country perished to the time approaches its annihilation. Wiles and hou. Puran pp. 481-482. The matter of the main knot and narration and his repudiations see pp. 622-626 of the main work the 12th Sk. 1a of the Bhagavata and the conclusion of 1st of the 12th Sk. 1a

V—ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN CASTE

THE artificial system of Caste, to which the two preceding sections have been devoted, was not the growth of a single age, or even of a few centuries. The exhibition of its origin and development is the great desideratum in all researches into the history of the social life of India. It is to be regretted that the materials for such an exhibition are but of limited extent and of difficult interpretation. We arrange our notices of them, as far as practicable, in chronological order.

1 We begin with gleanings from the *Vedas*

The earliest sources of information on Indian society are, of course the oldest portions of the vast and varied body of Indian literature, denominated the *Vedas*. In referring to them for this information, which can be collected only with much labour, we must distinctly recognise their peculiar character as literary and religious works.

The word *Veda*, as we have elsewhere said, may be rendered Fount-of Knowledge or of Vision, its root appearing in the Greek εἰδεῖν and εἰδω Latin *video* and *video*, and English *wit**. The works to which this name is applied, however, have no comprehensive contents suitable to their designation,—which appears to have been given them merely because of their great age and estimated venerable character as embodying the religious songs and hymns of the ancient Indians.

* India Three Thousand Years Ago p 15

They are four in number the *Rig*, *Sama*, *Yajur* and *Atharva*. The *Rig Veda* which contains their oldest material and in its oldest form, has, in its *Sanhita* or collection, some 11,000 or 12,000 distichs or *Richas* (from whence it receives its name), arranged in *Suktas*, or Hymns, principally according to their authors and the gods to whom they are addressed. The *Yajur* (literally sacrificial) Veda, occurs in two collections—the *Krishna* or Black, the more ancient, bearing also the name of the *Taittiriya* (probably derived from the school or sect by whom it was formed)—and the *Shukla*, or White bearing also the name of the *Vajasaneya*, of an origin similar to that now mentioned. A large portion of its materials in both forms is derived from the *Rig*, to about the half of which it is equal in the extent of matter in both of its forms united* The *Sama Veda*, which is said by the Brahmins to have 7,000 verses, † draws almost the whole of its contents from the *Rig*, selecting them, however, in small portions from particular hymns, and arranging them principally for sacrificial chanting at the *soma* sacrifices by a particular class of priests ‡ The *Atharva Veda*, which is said

* In the Black *Yajur Veda*, there appear in the MS before me to be about 1836 distichs

† In Dr Stevenson's edition it occupies only some 3,395 lines. In Benfey's it has about 2739

‡ Though most of the Hymns (Suktas, laudations,—from *sū* good and *ulta* spoken) of the *Rig Veda* are intended for personal and family use, it is obvious from some of them of later composition than their associates in the *Sanhita* or collection that a somewhat definite order had been adopted by the parties acting as priests when these later hymns were composed. Thus, e.g. in R. V. II 5 varga 17, we have

to have 6,015 verses, is posterior to the others in composition, and it is mostly filled with incantations and curses and blessings. It takes only a few of its pieces from the hymns of the *Rig*, and principally from those of latest composition.

The representation of what may be called the Vedic period of time is to be sought for principally in the *Rig-Veda*, because the pieces which it contains are found individually, though not in chronological arrangement, in their original form, and because it is the great fount from which the contents of the other Védas have, in so far as they represent that period, been drawn, and to it the chief inquiries into that period have to be directed.

The chronological limits of the oldest Vedic period, properly called by Dr Max Müller the *Chandas*,—that in which the Chants or Songs of the Vedas were first composed,—has been shown by that able scholar, in perfect consistency with the researches of other orientalists, to range from between the year 1200 to 1000 B C * embracing the time, according to our received Hebrew chronology, intervening between Gideon the judge and Solomon the king, of Israel.

The light which the Vedas, viewed in connection with the language in which they are composed, throw on the ethnical relationship and geographical position and social condition, of the Indians at that remote period,

this verse “Thine, Agni, is the office of the *Hotr* of the *Potri*, of the *Ritvij* of the *Nesht*, thou art the *Agnidhra* of the devout thine is the function of the *Prashástri*, thou art the *Adhvaryu* and the *Brahmá*, and the householder in our dwelling”

* History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p 572

though of a limited, is still of an interesting and valuable character

The language of the *Vedas* — which after it enjoyed posterior culture, came to be denominated the *Sanskrita* (literally *concreata*) or cultivated,— has been found to be intimately connected both in grammar and vocables not only with the ancient languages of Persia ultimately denominated the *Zand* and *Pahlví*, but with the Greek, Latin Gothic, Celtic and other European languages, comprehended in the Indo-Teutonic family. Of these languages it is not the parent, but the sister or cousin, as has been seen from their philological comparison, each of them throwing its own light on the peculiar forms and states in which their oldest words first became current, when established by conventional usage, and each of them containing proofs of subsequent invention and modification of words according to the cosmic and social experience, thought feeling, and culture of the divergent and, in some instances, widely separated tribes to which they belong. They are merely fragments of an older language spoken by the progenitors of these tribes, acknowledging a common origin, and long kept united by intercourse and common interests. On this matter a perfect consent of orientalists has been generated and expressed of late years. The case has been well put by Dr Max Muller who, after giving examples of the grammatical affinity and verbal accordance of the cognate languages now referred to, thus writes — “Hence all these dialects point to some more ancient language which was to them what Latin was to the Romance dialects,—only that at that early period there was no liter

ature to preserve to us some remnants of that mother tongue that died in giving birth to the modern Arian dialects, such as Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Gothic, Windic and Celtic. Yet if there is any truth in inductive reasoning that language was once a living language, spoken in Asia by a small tribe, nay originally by a small family living under one and the same roof, as the language of Camoens, Cervantes, Voltaire and Dante was once spoken by a few peasants who had built their huts on the Seven Hills near the Tiber. If we compare the two tables of paradigms, the coincidences between the language of the Veda and the dialect spoken at the present day by the Lithuanian recruit at Berlin are greater by far than between French and Italian, and, after Bopp's *Comparative Grammar* has been completed it will be seen clearly that all the essential forms of grammar had been fully framed and established before the first separation of the Arian family took place' *

The Sanskrit is more closely allied to what has been called the Zand † the language of the remains of the ancient Zoroastrian literature, than to any of its other cognate tongues. So much is this the case that some respectable orientalists, as the late General Vans Kennedy, ‡ and Mr John Romer of the Bombay Civil Service, § have

* Muller on Comparative Mythology (Oxford Essays, 1856) p. 13

† This word is widely applied by the Parsis both to the text and comments of their ancient books, but, as suggested by Dr Muller it is probably connected with the Sanskrit Chandas, poetical metre or Chants

‡ Researches into the Affinity of Languages pp. 162-132

§ Zend is it a language? London 1858

held that the Zand is merely an artificial fabrication from the Sanskrit made by the Parsi priests of India. On this matter we made the following remarks in 1842 — “Whether or not the Parsi priests in India, from their traditional reminiscences of the ancient languages could have fabricated some of the Zand writings, I shall not positively assert. There is a poverty in the expression of some of these writings, particularly of the minor liturgical pieces, which shows that their authors had no ready command of the language in which they wrote. There is an approach to Gujarati idiom in some instances, and to a Gujarati corruption of Sanskrit, which at one time awakened considerable suspicions in my mind. Viewing the matter of the Zand language, however, in its general aspect, I have no hesitation in declaring that none of the exiled and depressed Parsi priests in India can be supposed to have had the ability to invent that language with its extensive and minute grammatical forms, and with its abundant and regular analogies to the Sanskrit Persian, Pahlvi, Greek, Latin, and Germanic languages, as so distinctly evinced by Bopp and Bünouf, and evident to the general student, and to write of a state of society altogether different from that in which they themselves were placed and in many respects dissimilar to that to which the legends of the Shahnamah and other similar works, to which they attach some importance, refer.” *

The judgment here expressed has been amply confirmed by the latest lingual researches both in Europe and India. It is now admitted by every competent

* Author's work on the Parsi Religion, op 406 7

philologist that both the Sanskrit and the Zand have not only had a common parent but that the people among whom they originally assumed their ultimate forms were longer united in social fellowship than the peoples diverging from the same common stock, with whom the Latin, Greek, and other Indo Teutonic languages received their peculiar expansion and culture. Most interesting has it been to observe that the predominant race mentioned in the Vedas bears through out these works the designation of *Aryya*, (or *Ariya*) thus indicating the country from which it came to India—the *Arya* of the Parsi sacred writings, applied both generically to the land devoted to the doctrines and rites of the *Avasta* (the Zoroastrian liturgical course and code) as opposed to *Taryya*, and specially to *Airyana Vaejō* the pure or primitive *Aryya*. This *Aryya* is the *Ariya* of the Persian and the *Arriya* of the Scythian tablets of the Achæmenian Kings at Behistun*, the *Ariana* of the Greeks, recognized in the designation of the *Arian* people as early as the times of Herodotus†, and the eastern *Iran* of modern days. The value of this discovery, which belongs to European research, is enhanced and not diminished by the fact that the modern Brahmanical commentators on the Vedas have interpreted the word *Arya* merely as a designation, meaning

* See Rawlinson's Persian Cuneiform Inscriptions in Journal of R A S vol X Westergaard, in Transactions of R S N A., and Norris on the Scythic text of the Behistun Inscriptions, in J R A S vol xv

† See the passages of Herodotus, referring to this matter extracted and illustrated in Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol II pp 289, 290

“respectable, as it testifies to the success with which foreigners, so long debarred from the acquisition and perusal of the Vedas, are now studying them. Though, as we have elsewhere said, ‘There are instances in the Vedas in which the word *Arya* seems to be used in the sense of high or respectable, this is perhaps a figurative use of the word, according to the well known analogy of our adjective ‘*frank*’ expressive of the qualities strikingly exhibited in the *Frank* people. In the event of *arya* or *arya* in the sense of high or “respectable, being the origin of the name of the country, *Arya* is probably equivalent to ‘Highlands.’” This opinion is strengthened by the notice taken of *Airyana Vaējo* in the first fargaid of the Vandidad of the Parsis which is there mentioned as the first of the countries created by Ahura Mazda or Hormazd, and as having had a change of climate produced in it by Anghro Mainyu or Ahriman, giving according to one form of tradition mentioned in the text, ten months of winter and only two of summer, and according to another seven of summer and five of winter,—thus indicating, when the legends are interpreted, both a high elevation and a northern latitude. Professor Lassen supposes that this district was on the western slopes of the Belurtag and Mustag, in the district in which the rivers Oxus and Jaxartes rise, and that it formed the original seat of both the Iranian and Indian nations. Its connexion with the former is rendered probable not merely by geographical considerations, but by the fact that Persian is spoken in the district to the pre-

* Author’s India Three Thousand Years Ago, p. 17

† Lassen’s Indische Altherthumskunde, 1 526 527

sent day by the oldest tribes of Kashghar, Yarkand, Khoten, Aksu (the Oxus land), Turfan and Khámil *

On the course of the spread of the Aryas from the quarter now mentioned, but little light can now be shed. Their locations as comprehended in the districts known to the early Iranians are thus enumerated in the Parsi Vandidad. We give their names in parallel columns, with the identifications which have been made of them by several distinguished literary authorities.

<i>Land dad.</i>	<i>Pārsia. (a)</i>	<i>Burnouf (b)</i>	<i>Lassen. (c)</i>	<i>Haug (d)</i>
2 Aryanā Vāej6	I an	Ariana	Ariana	Ariana
2 Lughdho	Shunk	Sogdiana	S gd	Gan of Sugā gho †
3 Mouru	Marwa	Country of the two Marwas	Maru Marw	
4 Bálhdu	Bokhára	Bac ra	Bactra	Bactra
5 Nišāi	Nesapur	Nisāra	Nisāra	Nisāra
6 Maroy u	Haleb (Aleppo)	Land of the Zarangē and Drangē §	Herat	Aria (of the Greeks) Her t
7 Vaškereta	the Kábal	Sej sán	Sejistán with its capital	Sejistán
	Duzhak (Hell land)		Dushak	
8 U vi	Orwé		Unknown	Kábul
9 khenta	with Gurgána or		Hyrcania	Kandahár
Behkana	Jurgán			
10 Haraga tu	Hermand	Arachosia	Arachotus	Arachos a.
11 Haštumat	Sistan	Etymandros (near Hermand river)	Etymandros	Hilmend (valley near river of same name)
12 Raghá	Rei ¶		Paxas	Rhages of the classics pre t Rei
13 Chakhra	Chin		Chinrem of Fer	City in Khorá dāsi
14 Varensa	K rman or		Varuna of the	Ghárán
	Indashkhir		Indians	
15 Hupta-Heal (Se en Ri ers)	H udustan	The Seven In dies	The Seven In dies	Indus C nty (seven rivers)
16 (D scribed)	Khorásán			Near the c cumambient cean.

* See Lassen ut supra.

† Of Pt Kamy

‡ Ha ing fo ts dwell ng place Saghdo

1 Etym logy re p nging with th San k it Sar j

¶ Nea 1 herá

(a) Aut 14 s: R hāk p 294

(b) Co tair su i laqua

¶ J I d che Althertl mskunde i p 327 26

(d) F st Ch pter f Vandidad in Bunsens Egypt ol m pp 473 506

The Baron Bunsen* thinks that the districts above mentioned were 'the halting places of the Aryas in their gradual march and progress by extension, to the land of the Seven Rivers', but without taking this easy view of what may be only a general geographical notice according to the notions of the ancient Zoroastrians, we may nevertheless refer to the first fargard of the Vandidad as throwing some light on the expansion of the Aryas in the direction of India, into which they probably entered either by the western passes of the Hindu Kush, by the eastern road leading from Kabul to the Indus or from Hirat, round the promontories of the Paropamisus through Arachosia to Ghazna, and thence by the Boland Pass to the Indus †

On the position of the Aryas in their original Indian seats, we have lately thus written —

"At the time at which the earlier portions of the Vedas were composed the Aryas were principally located on the banks of the various affluents of the Indus and the province now denominated the Panjab. Though Sayana Acharya, the great Brahmanical commentator on the Vedas, who flourished so late as the fourteenth century after Christ, interprets the rivers mentioned in the Védas as the great streams of modern India, the text of the Veda gives him no authority for so doing. The rivers of the Vedas seem all to have been before the immediate observation of the writers of the Hymns (*Súktas*) of which the collection of the Rig Veda is com-

* Egypt in p 459 99

† These are the routes indicated by Lassen (Indische Alterthumskunde 1. p 531) Dr M. Müller (Hist. of Ancient Sanskrit Literature p 15) also joins with them the narrow passes of the Himalaya.

posed ‘Thou India hast rescued the kine thou hast won the Soma juice , thou hast let loose the *seven rivers* to flow * Thou didst traverse *ninety and nine streams* like a hawk ‘ His exploits are most glorious, in that he has replenished the *four rivers* of sweet water, spread over the surface of the earth † “ All (sacrificial) viands concentrate in Agni (the god of fire) as the *seven great rivers* [united] flow into the ocean.”‡ In the Panjab, we have four or five or seven or more great rivers, according as we cross it to the North or South It is obviously this district which is denominated in the Vandidad of the Pañcas as above the *Hapta Hinduṣ* or Seven Indies, the word Hindu springing from *Sindhu*, the Sanskrit name of the Indus Indeed, the Indus is specifically mentioned in the Veda as that river on the banks of which some of the composers of the Vedas actually lived Thus we have, “ My *Sindhu*, the renowned bestower of wealth hear us (fertilizing our) broad fields with water ¶ ‘ I repeat with a (willing) mind the praises of Bhavya [a king] dwelling on the banks of the *Sindhu* || In one of the hymns of the Rig-Veda, three specific streams are thus mentioned as connected with the worshippers of the Vedas — Gloriously shine forth

* Wilson's Rig Veda, Vol 1 p 88 See also p 99

† Ibid p 168

‡ Ibid p 189

§ Vandidad 1st fargard

¶ Sayana Acharya as hinted by Prof Wilson, Rig Veda, 11 p 3 understands by the word *Sindhu* here जलाभिमनी देव the god presiding over waters Even in this sense, however, it is nothing but the personified Indus

O Agni in the places in which the descendants of Manu, [the first of representative Aryan man] inhabit, on the banks of the *Drishadvati*, the *Apayu*, and the *Sarasvati** These streams I am of opinion are connected with the south-western and not with the south-eastern system of Indian rivers. Two of them are thus noticed by Manu :—
 ' The country between the divine rivers Sarasvati and Drishadvati formed by the gods, is called Brahmaparta †
 ' The Sarasvati is the Saasuti north west of Thanesha (Sthaneshvai) as noticed by Professor Wilson in his Vishnu Purana ‡ It seems from the manner in which it is sometimes spoken of in the Vedas, to have been a favourite with the Aryas, § and this probably because of some resemblance,—such perhaps as that of losing itself in the sands for it etymologically means a lake—which it bore to the *Harasaiti* a river in the original Auya, of which it was the namesake || The Drishadvati is supposed

* दधत्वत्या मानुष आपायो सरस्वत्यो रेवद्वारे दिवीहि Text of Rig Veda by Muller vol ii p 747

† Manu ii 17 Sir William Jones says, ' frequented by the gods, but the original is देवनिर्मित, formed by the gods.

‡ Wilson's Vishnu Purana p 180

§ Vasishtha devotes to it alone two hymns in the 5th Ashtaka of the Rig Veda

|| For the identification of the name *Harasaiti* with *Sarasvati* we are indebted to Burnouf (Commentaire sur le Yagna, Notes et Eclaircissements, p xcii) From *Harasaiti*, the district of *Arachotta* of the Greeks (Ariean Exped Alex iii cap 28, Strab lib xv c 2, Dionys. Perieg v 1096 Plin lib vi cap 25) derived its name. Burnouf, while ascribing a common origin to the names *Harasaiti* and *Sarasvati*, felt unable to say whether Persia or India can claim the original. Noticing however, the district of *Haroyo*,

to have been in the neighbourhood of the Sarasvati. I am not aware that the Apaya has been identified though it may be the Vipapa, mentioned in the Mahabharata* along with the Drishadvati and Vipasha. In another of the hymns of the Rig-Veda, the rivers *Vipat*—the equivalent according to etymology and to the Brahminical commentator on the Veda of the *Vipasha* of the Mahabharata, and the origin of the present Beas,—the *Hyphasis* or *Bibasis* of the Greeks and the *Chhutudri*—in later times the *Shatudri* or *Satley*—are mentioned as holding a conversation with the sage Vishvamitra the author of many of the Vedic hymns†. The *Vipash* and the dwellers on the *Vitasta*,—the *Hydaspe*, or *Hélum*—and the *Sayu*, (probably not that near Ayodhya) are mentioned in a hymn of Vamdeva ‡. It is thus seen that the Punjab and its neighbourhood formed the original habitat of the Indian Aryas. The rivers of the south-

mentioned in the Vindidid of the Puris and identifying the word with *Savayn* the name of an Indian river (now the *Sayu*) he justly observes that the / and II. u. yo is the more ancient form of the word as far as the vowels are concerned (p. cii et seq.). Less concerned in the views of Burnouf. He notes also the agreement of the / and II. u. u. with the *Ha al hau* of the cuneiform inscriptions and of the people too of these inscriptions called *Haurina* (in the plural) constructed for *Hurayana* from *Huraya* the river now named the *Hari* river. The name of *Huraju* (*Savayn* in Sanskrit) he thinks was given in after times by the Indians to the river near Ayodhya, in commemoration of that of Alachorā.

* Bhishma Purā n 342. Langlois, in his translation of the Rig Veda, tom n p 230 says, 'Je ne sais quelle est la rivière qui portait la nomme d'Apaya.'

† Rig Veda 3d Adh 6th Asht 20th—22d.

‡ Rig Veda 3d Adh 6th Asht 20th—22d.

easterly system are brought to notice in the more advanced portions of the Rig-Veda. The *Yamuna* and the *Gomati* are first mentioned by *Shayavashva*, 'a descendant of *Atri* in the fourth Ashtaka'*. The *Ganga* (Ganges) is only once mentioned, and that in the eighth or last Ashtaka.† I have seen no allusion to the tiger in the Védas, though occasional mention is made in them of the hon. This is a presumption that the Rishis at the time of their composition, had not yet reached the land of the tiger. The distinctive lake *Sharyanavati* is sometimes

* Rig Veda 4th ashtak, 3d adhy (Müller n 452) The *Yamuna* is also mentioned by *Vasishtha*, viewed by the Hindu legends as a contemporary of *Vishvamitra*, Rig Veda 5th asht 2d adh In reference to the *Gomati* Professor Wilson 27th Varga (iii p 346) says 'It would be the *Gomati* river in Oude or it may be a river of the same appellation, more to the north west rising in Kulu, a feeder of the *Beyah* or *Vyása*

† This is in a hymn addressed to the personified Rivers, the 4th of the 3rd adhy. In this hymn, the *Sindhu* (which is in the masculine gender, while all the others are in the feminine) is spoken of as the chief river. With it are invoked other rivers in the following order — *Ganga* *Yamuna* *Sarasvati* *Shutudri*, with the *Parushni*, the *Hydrac* es from *Iravati* the *Asikni* the *Chandrabhága* (identified from the "Akesines as by Lassen) and the *Marudvridha* the *Vitasta* (Hydaspes for *Vydaspes*) the *Aryukiya* with the *Sushoma*, the *Trishtama*, the *Rasá*, the *Sveti* and the *Kubhá* (associated with the *Sindhu*) [probably the *Kophen*] and the *Gomati*, and the *Krumu*. The *Rasá* several times alluded to in the *Vedas*, the *Kubhá*, the *Anatabhá*, the *Krumu*, and the *Sarayu* are mentioned by *Shyaváshva* in the hymn following that in which he mentions the *Yamuna*. Rig Veda, 4th asht 3d adh 12th v These in all probability were connected with the same (the *Sindhu*) system of rivers. In R V 4th asht 7th adh. 26th varga, the adjective *Gángya*, probably meaning "flowing, or swift, river, occurs

mentioned as in the dominions of the pious Ripka. It is supposed to have been in what was afterwards known as the country of Kurukshétra.”*

The Aryas in India, if we may judge from the Véda and other later works take little or no notice of their entrance into the country from other regions of the world. Yet the intelligent reader of the Védas can easily infer that when the materials of these works were prepared, the Aryas of whom they treat were not in their primitive country. They counted their years by winters indicating a country in which the cold season was peculiarly marked†. They laid great stress on the *ashvamedha*, or horse-sacrifice like the northern tribes. Compared with their neighbours they had a white or fair complexion. They were not fully or peaceably established in the territories in which they were then found. The facts to which I have now referred have not escaped the notice of the learned and cautious translator of the Rig-Véda, Professor H H Wilson. “That they (the ancient Indians), he says, had extended themselves from a more northern race is rendered probable from the peculiar expression used, on more than one occasion, in soliciting long life, when the worshipper asks for a hundred winters (*himas*), a boon not likely to be desired by the natives of a warm climate. They appear also to have been a fair-complexioned people, at least comparatively, and foreign

* 7th asht 2d Adh 5th varga. India Three Thousand Years ago, p 21 25

† Dr Stevenson was, I believe, the first person to direct attention to this fact. See his translation of the Sama-Veda, p. 86. In addition to this first translation of the Sama, we have that of Dr Benfey, n. C. 80. 8. 1 by c. 1 m. 5

invaders of India as it is said that India (the god of the Ether or Firmament) divided the fields among his white-complexioned friends after destroying the indigenous barbarian races, for such there can be little doubt we are to understand by the expression *Dasyu* which so often recurs, and which is often defined to signify one who not only does not perform religious rites but attempts to harass their performers * The *Dasyus*, here mentioned, are doubtless the *Dagys* of the Parsi sacred writings and the *Dahyus* of the Behistun tablets, rendered by 'countries' or provinces probably of an exterior position like the *Gom* or Gentiles of the Hebrews. They were not altogether barbarians, for they had distinctive cities and other establishments of at least a partial civilization, though the *Arvas* lately from more bracing climes than those which they inhabited proved too strong for them †

That the *Arvas* of India had been most intimately connected with the Iranians we have decided proof, not only in the relationships of their language, and their common designation now adverted to, but in much which (with certain antagonisms easily understood on the principle of posterior religious speculation and contest) was common in their early religious creed and observances. Many of the gods, or objects of worship of the *Véda* and the *Avesta* are identical. Each of these works has its god of Fire in *Agni* and *Atas*, which, however, are probably not etymo-

* Wilson's *Rig Veda*, vol 1 p xlvi.

† Author's *India Three Thousand Years Ago* p 19 In the *Veda*, 3d asht 1st adh 12th varga Indra and Agni are represented as overthrowing ninety cities of which *Dásas* were the lord (*dasa patuk purah*)

logically connected with one another *Vayu* or *Vatu* the Vedic Wind, is the Zandic *Vaya* or *Vata* The Indian designations of the Sun *Asura*, *Mitra*, *Sûr*, *Sûrya* and *Star* find their equivalents in the Iranian *Ahura*, *Mithra*, *Hvare* (gen *hwō*), often given as *Hvare-Kshaēta* the ruling or glorious sun Corresponding with the Sanskrit *Ushas*, the Dawn, we have the Zandic *Ushaongh* The moon (Chandia) *mas* of the Veda is recognized as the *Maongh* of the Avasta The *Apah* or Waters, personified in the Vedas, and the *Aptyas* there represented as water gods, have as their correspondents, in the Avasta, *Apō* and *Athwya* Among the personifications of the Veda is *Agha*,* the goddess of evil, corresponding in some respects (though not with the dualistic notions of Zoroaster) with the Ahriman of the Parsis, or in Zend *Anghro-Mainyu*, the ugly-minded or evil-minded-one In the Vedic *Vasuna* (the *oupavîc* of the Greeks) we have in the idea of boundless heavenly space, the correspondent of the *Varena* of the Avasta The *Vishî-Dévas*, spoken of in the Vedas as the Collective gods, and sometimes as special gods, the Protectors of men correspond with numerical and other modifications, with the *Amshâspands* and *Izads* of the Parsis† The *Pitris*, or typical

* See Note in India Three Thousand Years Ago p 72

† The Zand word for *Izad* is *yazata* which means an object of worship It corresponds exactly with the Sanskrit यजत् *yajata*, which occurs in the Rig Veda (Sanhita B I ch iii h 34 st 7) and which is explained by Sayana the commentator by यज्य *yashtavya*, and rendered by Rosen *sacris celebri andus* M Burnouf translates it by 'digne qu'on lui offre le sacrifice See Journal Asiatique Octobre 1840 The Zand for *Amsha-pand* is *ameshâ-spenta* The words of which this name is composed are correctly represented by Edal Daru (Mujazat i Zarthusht, p 20)

ancestors often addressed in the Védas, correspond with the Parsi *Faruhrs** The *Soma* as a plant and a the fermented juice of a plant, much used in sacrifice and as a deified power delighting god and exhilarating man even to inspiration, stands in the same relationship in the *Haoma* of the *Avasta*. In the ninth Ha of the *Yagnā* or the *Pársis*, *Haoma*, as a god, is represented as teaching Zoroaster that the first person who consulted him was *Vivanghao*, the father of *Yimo*, or *Jamshid*, the second, *Athrya* the father of *Thrayétyaonō*, or *Faridun*, the third *Sám*, the father of *Urvákhshyo* and *Kereçaçpō*, and the fourth *Paourusaçpo*, the father of *Zarathustra*, or Zoroaster†. In the Véda most of these concepts appear with their own peculiarities. The correspondent in the Veda of *Yimo*,—who with the Iranians was then first of ideal man the great establisher of their colonization and agriculture and pecoriculture,—is *Yama*, the Subduer of God of human Destiny, dealing with the human race, not in its earthly golden age, but in its ultimate state beyond the grave ‡. The father of *Yama*, in the Véda, is *Vnashvat*, the *Vnarghat* or *Vivanghao* of the *Yagnā*. The wife of *Yama* in the Véda is *Yami* the wife or sister of *Yimo*, and (to judge from the Parsi

by exalted immortals [or existences or spirits] Author's work on Parsi Religion p 129

* The nominative singular is in Zand *Fraashis*. The noun is feminine. The Zand names, or rather denominations, of the *Faruhrs* have a figurative meaning

† Author's Parsi Religion p 400

‡ See Westergaard on Ancient Iranian Mythology in J B P 1
A & 1853

Bundeshne) *Jemu* or *Jemake** *Trita* or *Tratana* (the adjective form of the same name) is a mythological personage of the Veda associated with *Yama*, and as pointed out by Dr Roth the correspondent of *Thrayé yaona* † *Kuṛgaṇpo*, as shown by the same scholar, has also a figurative position in the Véda *Nabanazdista* and *Vabhanédishtha* the son of Manu (R V viii 1 29) are also remarkable mythical accordances, both in the Avasta and Veda ‡ The form of the hymns of the Yagna and the Yagni of the Avasta, as noticed many years ago has much resemblance to that of the Véda. The designations, both characteristic and technical, of the priests and worshippers of the Veda and of the Avasta often agree* So do the words used in these works expressive of praise and sacrifice|| And so do some of the common instruments of worship as the

* Dr Roth to whom we are greatly indebted for the illustration both of the Veda and Avasta first brought this coincidence to notice in the Z D M G vol iv p 47

† See Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morg. Ges. band ii s 216 and abstract of Roth's paper by Dr J Murray Mitchell in Journal of B B R A 5 July, 1852 *Athwoya* (in Persian *Atbin* or *Abtin*) as mentioned in the passage from the Yagna quoted above, is the father of Thraé yaona. The patronymic of *Trita*, in the Veda (R V 1 7 v 21) is *Aptya* a water ruler. *Trita* in the Veda fights against the aerial serpent (*ash*) or enemy, carrying off the cows (clouds) which would otherwise yield their nourishing milk and *Thraetona* opposes the *ash* *dahak*, the destroying (earthly) serpent, the author of evil.

‡ See Lassen's Ind Altherthumskunde, i 516

¶ See Parsi Religion by the Author, pp 226 227 To the instances there given that of the Sanskrit *Atharva* and the Zand *Athrava*, a priest, literally a Fireman (ut sup p 209) may be added

|| Pársi Religion, pp 268 271

Havni of the Brahmans and the *Haraṇa* of the Parsis * Even the divergency and antagonism of the religion of Zoroaster from that of the Rishis of the Vedas is in many particulars like that which in the course of speculation and reform might easily appear among a people originally associated together but afterwards following a peculiar religious and social development. The word *Dæva* (or *Dævas*) as has often been shown, must have been a designation in the original Iranian race of any Divinity before even the separation from one another of the peoples known as Greeks and Romans (in whose languages it appears as *θεος* and *Déus*) and it could only be the peculiar mythological and idolatrous application of the term by the progenitors of the Indians or by the Indians themselves which led the Zoroastrians to employ it as a designation of a Devil. In the Vedas the word *Asura* is applied to the Sun and Moon in the sense probably of Lord of Matter, but the Brahmans as retaliating against the Zoroastrians, who had applied it to their good God, in the form of *Ahura-Mazda*, or multiscient Lord made it afterwards the designation of a Devil †. Even in many of the hymns of the Vedas the terrestrial enemies of the Aryas, as well as their unseen enemies, are denominated *Asuras*, as will immediately appear. In illustration of the connection of the Iranians and Aryas, other circumstances bearing especially on physiognomy could, if necessary, be brought forward. The great fact to be borne in mind is, that the Aryas are first found in India as strange s

* Compare *Āśvā yu Brahmana* vii & 19 with *Vāishākhī*, *śāstrikā* xix

† See Note in *India Thirteen Thousand Years Ago* p. 78

and foreigners not fully established in the land as will still more appear from passages now immediately to be adduced from the Rig Veda

In the Rig Veda, as might be expected from the fact that it consists of laudations and sacrificial songs of the Gods, no formal and direct information on the early social state of the Aryan community is to be expected. It is only from poetical and historical allusions there occurring that anything can be learned respecting the society of their own day or of more ancient times. These allusions however are pretty numerous and when compared together productive of curious and valuable results. In collecting the information to be found in the Véda bearing on the origin and growth of Caste, it is necessary to look to the Aryan community in two distinct aspects—that which respects its connection with the exterior partly amalgamated or hostile, tribes with which it came in contact and that which respects its own social condition and development.

The Aryas, we find from the Rig-Veda, though in some respects an interesting people, and considerably advanced in civilization* had the pride of race in an extravagant degree. They were an aspiring a domineering, and an intolerant people, with strong antipathies of race and religion, and showing great contempt and hatred of the other tribes with whom they came in contact. As this pride of race violence and intolerance were special features of Caste when formally established, it may be well for us to collect the principal notices which we have of their earliest manifestations in the Veda now mentioned.

“Discriminate O Indra between the Aryas and those who are

* See India Three Thousand Years Ago pp 29 34

Dasyus punishing those who perform no religious rites (avitan) compel them to submit to the sacrifices be thou the powerful the encourager of the sacrificer (Rig Veda, asht 1 adh 4 varga 11)

Munificent hero (India) who easily conquerest thy foes, thou didst put to flight (under Kutsa) the *Dasyus* in battl (Ib 1 5 4)

India the invoked by many attended by the moving Viruts, having attacked the *Dasyus* and the *Shmavas* slew them with his thunderbolt the thunderer then divid'd the fields with his white complexioned friends (Ib 1 7 11)*

‘ (We invoke India) who is the lord of all moving and breathing creatures who first recovered the line for the *Brahman* (the repeator of the Brahma or word) and who slew the humbled *Dasyus* (1 7 12)

‘ Armed with the thunderbolt and confident in his strength he (Indra) has gone on destroying the cities of the *Dasyas* O Indra, the wise, the thunderer cast thy shaft against the *Dasyu* and augment the strength and glory of the *Arya* (1 7 16)

Sweeping away the *Dasyu* with the thunderbolt thou Ashwins have bestowed brilliant light upon the *Arya* (1 8 17)

“ Indra who in a hundred ways is the protector in battles in heaven conferring battles has preserved in the fray the sacrifice *Arya* Punishing the destitute of rites he subjected the black *Kim* to Manu (the *Aryan* or privileged man) (u 1 19)

Destroy Indra the tawny coloured fearfully routing *Pishachas* annihilate all the *Rakshases* (u 1 22)‡

India, lord of steeds, invigorited by our munition, use thou hast slain those who make thee no offerings and disturb thy worshipers. (u 4 17 ||)

Consume mighty one the religious *Dasyu*, as a wooden vessel is burnt by fire (u 4 18) Thou hast disclosed light to the *Arya*

The translation of this vers he is given the of Professor H H Wilson which I think substantially correct as *Shmavas* (which may be translated best yet as the natives in Muir's Sanscrit Texts vol. pp. 884) is evidently coupled in the Veda with *Dasyus* used in a personal sense

† Sáyana Achárya (Muller's Text of Rig Ved 1 p 807 applies *Brahmanas* he is used to the *Brahmanayds* or Bráhman Caste But this is gone too far on modern Brahmanical principles

‡ Here both *Pishachas* and *Rakshases* (soon viewed by the Hindus as devils) are seemingly spoken of as a people

the *Dasyu* has been placed at thy left hand Let us honour those who through thy protection, surpass all their rivals as the *Dasyus* are surpassed by the *Aryas* (ii 6 6)

“Encountering the (*Aswas*) carrying off Dabhitī he burnt all their weapons in a kindled fire, and enriched (the prince) with the cattle their horses, and then chariots (ii 6 15) ‘Thou hast slain the *Dasyus*, Chumari and Dhuni having cast them into sleep thou hast protected Dabhitī (ii 6 16)

‘He (India) slew the *Dasyus* and destroyed their non cities (ii 6 26)

‘Pluck up the *Rakshas* Indra by the root cut asunder the middle blight the summit to whatever remote regions thou hast driven the sinner, cast upon the hater of the (ceremonial) word (*brahma*) thy consuming weapon (iii 2 4)

Having slain the *Dasyus* he protected the *Arya* colour (or race *varna*) (iii 11 17)

What do the cattle for thee among the *Kikatas* they yield no milk for the offerings to Soma and they heat no fire (for the sacrifice), bring (also) the wealth of Piāmagandha (the usurer?) and subdue to us, Maghavat (Indra) the vile branch (or stock) of the people (*nauchishhālam*) †

‘Defending him (a poet *kavi*) with thy protection the guilty impious (*Māyavānbrahma*, mad against the *Brahma*) *Dasyu* has been destroyed in the contest for the spoil With a mind resolved on killing the *Dasyu* thou comest thou hast swiftly destroyed the *Dasyus* (iii 5 18)

Indra, O Soma, has slain the *Dasyus* in battle Agni has consumed them before the noon (iii 6 17)

Trayadasyu† has bestowed upon many the ancient (gifts) which were obtained by the liberal (prince) through your (favour Heaven

See p. 1

†On this important passage Prof H. H. Wilson (R. V. iii. p. 86) has the following note — The *Kikata* are said by Śāyana following Yāska Nir. vi. 52 to be countries inhabited by *Andryas* people who do not perform worship, who are infidels *Nastikas* [rather non *Arvās*] *Kikata* is usually identified with South Behar showing apparently that *Vaidik* Hinduism had not reached the province when this was said or as *Kikata* was the fountain head of *Buddhism*, it might be asserted that the *Buddhists* were here alluded to if it were not wholly incompatible with all received notions of the early date of the *Veda*. *Kikata* I think must have been next to the earlier

and Earth) you too have given a horse a son, a weapon (for the destruction of the Dasyus fierce and foe subduing (iii 7 11)

Twofold is my empire [says the King Trasadasayu, so called from harassing the Dasyus] —that of all the Kshatriya people, and all the immortals are ours the gods associate me with the works of Varuna I rule over those of the human form (iii 7 17)

‘With the thunderbolt thou hast confounded the voiceless (or noseless) *Dasyus*, thou hast bestowed in battle the speech bereft foes (iv 1 24)*

“Indra the subduer of all, the Arya (or Lord) leads the *Dasa* according to his wish (iv 2 4)†

‘Thou (Indra) art he who hast quickly subdued the *Dasyus* thou art the chief one who hast given preservation to the *Arya*’ (iv 6 4)

“Make hot the heavens, earth, and firmament, for the oppressive race parent of showers consume them everywhere with thy radiance make the heaven and the firmament too hot for the ha eres of the Brahma Thou hast rendered human enemies whether *Dasas* or *Aryas* easy to be overcome (iv 6 4)‡

‘Glorified by us he (Indra) bows not down to the robust nor to the firm nor to the persevering (worshipper) who is instigated by the *Dasyus* Overthrew, on the part of the *Arya* all the *Dasa* races everywhere abiding (iv 6 18 19)

‘Thou hast destroyed the hundred impregnable cities of the *Dasyu* Shambara (iv 7 3)§

seats of the *Aryas* than South Behar M Vivien de S Marti (Munir Texts n xxv) thinks that the country of the *Kshatras* must probably have been in Kosala or Andhra. In rendering the above verse we have compared the versions of Prof H H Wilson and Mr Muir with the original

Andso dasyun am: i ah Andsa Sayan as vs means *yalat n* devoid or deprived of words *dsya* face or mouth being put by metonymy for *shabda* the sound that comes from the mouth articulate speech alluding possibly to the uncultivated tribes of the barbarous tribes Prof Muller (Universal History of Man i 346) referring to this text proposes to a part to *anavat* in a non *nasad* the nose noseless Wilsons RV in p 246

† इद्वा विश्वस्य दमिता विभोषणो यज्ञा वशा नयनि दासमाय ॥

‡ आ जनाय द्रव्ये पार्थिवान् दिव्यानि दायियो अनारक्षा

तपा वष-वृश्वत् शोचिशा तान्त्रहाद्वेत् जाचय द्यमपव्य ॥

§ Shambara is more usually styled an *Asura* and hence it would appear that *Dasyu* and *Asura* are synonymous Prof H H Wilson P V in p 444

“ Agni has dispersed the impious, the chattering, faithless, riteless, non sacrificing Panis, the *Dasyus*” (v 2 9)

“ Thou hast, for the sake of Dribhiti vanquished the *Dasyus* Chumuri and Dhuni (v 2 29)

“ Put an end to the enmity which divides the *Dasyus* and the *Aryas* (v 6 4)

“ Indra and Soma burn the Rakshas, destroy them throw them down, ye two Bulls, the people that grow in darkness Hew down the mad men, suffocate them, kill them, hurl them away and slay the voracious Indra and Soma, up together against the cursing demon ! may he burn and hiss like an oblivion in the fire ! Put your everlasting hatred on the villain who hates the Brahman [or rather *brahma* etc], who eats flesh (raw), and whose look is abominable * (v 7 5)

“ Favour the prayer (Brahma) favour the service kill the *Rakshasas* drive away the evil (vi 3 16)

“ Thou Indra favourest our rites thou satisfiest (by retribution) thy revilers thou most excellent and powerful hero, hast smitten the *Dasa* in the middle of his thigh Let Parvata, our friend Parvata, with a powerful stroke strike down from the height the riteless, inhuman, non-sacrificing godless *Dasyu* (vi 5 9 10)

“ Thou, Indra art the friend of the offering the Lord of heaven thou overturnest the stible cities thou destoyest the *Dasyu* and givest increase to Manu thou Lord of heaven (vi 7 1)

“ O Indra object of our pruses let the godless (*adéra*) whether he be an *Arya* or a *Dasyu*, who wages war against us, be vanquished by us (vii 8 14)

“ Thou hast for the sake of the *Aryas* vanquished the *Dasyus* (viii 2 19)

I, Indra, come recognizing and marking the distinction of the *Dasyu* and the *Arya* (viii. 4 4)

“ This person humbled and subdued the roaring *Dasa* (here viewed as an aerial monster) with six eyes and three heads (viii. 5 14)†

* In this passage the spirited translation of Dr Max Müller (Last Results of the Turanian Researches p. 344) has been adopted A closer translation of the same import is with the original given by D. John Muir (Sanskrit Texts, ii. 406)

† In the Rig Véda particularly the seventh and eight *Ahitraks* *Aryas* hostile to the *Rahu* are mentioned as above.

‡ Several other passages of this character occur See *Max Müller's Sanskrit Texts* II. 406.

The *Arya* has been able to measure himself with the *Dasyu* Indra the ally of Rishvan has destroyed the villages of Pipra the magical (*Majna*) *Asura* (viii 7 26)

These passages and others of a like nature which could be adduced not only bring to notice in the neighbourhood of the early Indian settlements of the *Aryas*, the existence of races different in colour creed, and customs from these *Aryas* but reveal the deep-seated hatred and contempt of these races by the *Aryas*, who delighted to wage war against them on religious grounds, rejoiced in their conquest and overthrow, and even applied, in the progress of time, their names and designations to the imaginary aerial and spiritual beings which in their superstitious imaginings, they believed to be in a constant state of hostility to their own persons and social and religious institutions. The violent antipathy and hate of race and religion, thus early manifested have continued to be among the most potent and injurious elements of Caste to the present day. The *Aryas*, and the tribes taken by them into alliance, have ever nourished and cherished them, particularly as applied to the lower tribes of the country, in the different provinces of India in which they have been established.

It will have been noticed that the prevailing epithet of the people, or peoples to whom in the preceding extracts the *Aryas* are represented as opposed, is that of *Dasyu*. We have already mentioned what we consider the original meaning of the denomination—*Gentes*, those of the country,* or *Aborigines* or *Natives*. The Iranian correspondents of the name warrant us to attach to it this meaning. With reference to its peculiar implica-

* See above, p 88

tions, however Dr Max Müller says 'Dasyu in the Véda is *enemy* * The Brahmans to the present day marking their traditional animus, make it the equivalent of *slave* and *robber*

Rashasa, it will also have been seen is another denomination given to the tribes to whom the Aryas placed themselves in hostility Etymologically it means the strong 'the powerful, the protecting' the

gigantic As applied to an aboriginal people it is used in the Veda very much as the word *Rephaim* is used in the Hebrew scriptures By the Aryas it soon had a purely mythological meaning attached to it characteristic of both terrestrial and aerial 'monsters' In the Shatpatha Brahmaṇa of the White Yajur Veda the *Rakshasas* are represented as prohibitors, that is "prohibitors of sacrifice †

Asura is another denomination given by the Aryas to their enemies It is somewhat difficult to ascertain its import We have already found it used as a designation of the Sun probably in the sense of Lord or Master its root being pos- bly *as* to be Perhaps like the word *Nayak* (dux) in modern times, it was in this sense applied to the aboriginal tribes on account of the number of their heads of clans ‡ With the Aryas, how

* Comparative Mythology in Oxford Essays 1856, 24 Dr M with the Persian equivalents in his essay 'It is hardly doubtful that the Greek ουρα represents a Sanskrit ut'e *dasa pati* lord of nations

† See Weber in Z D M C in 289 sq

‡ The word *Nal* the contraction of *Nayak* is the common epithet (of respect) used by the lowly Mahars of the Maratha country From the abundance of *Nals* connected with the Bhils of the Bāla jungles, east of Barcāla, they are called *Naladas*

ever, the *Asuras* were soon viewed as wicked, malicious spirits, as opposed to the *Suras*, or deities

From the references which are made in the *Vedas* to the power resources appliances, and residences of the *Dasyus*, it is manifest that they were found in no contemptible position by the *Aryas* when they entered India. The subjection of them by the *Aryas* required time and strength for its accomplishment.

The state of society among the *Aryas* themselves now requires our particular attention. In connexion with them such questions as the following occur —Do the symptoms of Caste, or of tendencies to Caste, appear in the *Aryan* community as it is first brought to notice in the *Vedas*? Were *Brahmans*, *Kshatriyas*, *Vaishyas*, *Shudras*, and *Sankaras* then found to exist? Was a diverse creation,—from the head, arms, thighs and feet of the godhead respectively,—then ascribed to the first four of these classes? Had they a monopoly of their occupations and privileges, founded on creation, birth, or descent? Could there be no interchange of classes among them? Were their respective duties prescribed to them by alleged special divine regulations? Did legislative impediments with religious sanctions, exist as to their intercommunion and marriage? Did ceremonial defilement follow the accidental or deliberate touch of any classes of people with whom they came in contact? Were there any practices, or pretensions, of parties among them which had the tendency to originate Caste?

The following observations, which are merely an expansion of what we have said on this subject in a late

small publication, will assist us in answering these inquiries

(1) The position and authority of the Aryan priesthood as presented to our view in the Chhandas portions of the Védas have comparatively speaking, but a very limited advancement and development. The word *Brahman* does not appear in the Hymns as a fully established generic designation of a priest, or of a party belonging to an established priesthood. It thus originated. The word *brahma* (from the root *brih* (or *vrih*) to utter, to speak, to make a noise,) means prayer, and it is applied,—as in several instances now quoted in connexion with the Aryas and Dasyus,—to the ceremonial prayers of the Aryas, neglected or opposed by the Dasyus * In consequence, the word *Brahman* or *Brahma* in the masculine, came to mean the utterer, or conductor of prayer † The Brahmins, it cannot be doubted, are represented in the Védas merely as a profession, and not as a caste. Not a word is said in these writings about their origin as diverse from that of other members of the human family. They ask no privileges on account of original dignity or status. They are in the Védas principally a class of priests, officiating at sacrifices and other religious services, along with other specified classes of priests. The following are instances of the ways in which they are there brought to notice. “The chanters chant thee, Shatakratu [a name of Indra], the reciters of the Richas

* Thus we have, above, the Bráhman (the repeater of the *brahma* or word), p. 94, the hater of the *brahma* (or word), p. 95, ‘mad against the *brahma*’ (against the usage of the word), p. 95, etc.

† See article by Dr R. Roth on *Brahma* and the *Brahmins* in Z. D. M. G., vol. I. pp. 66-86, and the of that article published in the (Oct 1851), by Dr J. Muir

praise thee, who are worthy of praise, the BRAHMANAS raise thee aloft like a bamboo pole * "Thine Agni, is the office of the *Hotri*, of the *Potri*, of the *Ritvij* of the *Néshtri* thou art the *Agnidhra* of the devout thine is the function of the *Prashastri* thou art the *Adharyu* and the BRAHMA, and the householder in our dwelling † Here we eight kinds of priests mentioned of whom the *Brahma* or *Brahmana* is the last Even in the highest sense of the *Vedas* the word *Brahman* is used merely in a simple official sense and applied to an active class in the community, as when the *Brahman* is mentioned along with the *Rajanya* or prince ‡ It was in times later than those of the oldest portions of the *Védas* that the word *Brahmá* or *Brahmana* came to be used in the exclusive sense of god born priest It is not difficult indeed as will be afterwards seen to trace the progress of the *Brahman* from his *Vedic* profession to his subsequent position as maintained by Caste From his peculiar position at sacrifices, he was often then conductor —the *puṇohuta* or foreman,—for this is the literal meaning of the word This honour he shared only with others in the first instance many of whom, as *Vishvamitra* and his school, belonged to the royal race Agni, the god of fire the devotee, or re-

* See Text in Müller's *Rig Véda* vol 1 p 127 Professor Wilson (*Rig Véda*, vol 1, p 24) reads *Brahmnas* In the original here the word is *Brahmanah* the plural of *Brahma*

† Wilson's *Rig Véda*, vol 11 p 209, with the change of *Brahma* for its equivalent *Brahman* as in the text (Müller vol 11 p 416) According to some authorities, altogether sixteen kinds of priests shared in the offerings on great occasions See note in Wilson, ut sup where the authorities are quoted and illustrated

ceiver of sacrifices was the *purohita* of the gods in the sky*, and it was meritorious for kings to have a *Brahma* or *Brahmana* as his correspondent on earth. The office of the Purohita and Brahna gradually became hereditary, and the Brahna, as attached to the houses of the great, became of growing consequence especially in connexion with the anointing of kings and then horse-sacrifices, on which they counted much for conquest and progeny. His study and learning gradually increased his influence, and he was constituted an adviser and counsellor. His supposed peculiar access to the gods gave him a peculiar sanctity. He became a legislator, and in this capacity he soon made himself a god upon-earth. Such an exaltation of a human mediator has often to a certain extent been witnessed in other countries besides India.

(2) The writers of the Vedas, who are denominated *Rishis* or seers or inditers and who were doubtless in a religious point of view the highest parties in the Aryan community † call for support and countenance on account of their occupation and doings without reference to any order in society enjoyed by them ‡. Though

* Rig Veda 1 1 1 et in mult loc

† The phrase विद्वान् विद्वान् "the intelligent" by the commentator Madhavachary (१) occur in the Sáma Veda. Author's MS of Madhava's commentary part 2nd fol 38. Vipra is now a synonym of Brahman. It is rendered by मेधाती "intelligent" in the commentary on the Rig by Sayana.

‡ For the doers of (pious) gifts they sung "the suns lune in heaven (Wilson's R V II 17) 'the givers of pious donation attain immortality the givers of (pious) gifts prolong their (worldly) existence. They blamed some chiefs or annoying them, without claiming any established status (b II 6)

these occupations may have been in some cases hereditary, in consequence of the establishment of schools or classes for committing the Aryan Hymns to memory, they were not confined to one class of the Indian people. They were at least from both the kingly and the priestly classes of the population Vishvamitra, to whom many of the Hymns of the Vedas are ascribed,* and who in the Vishnu Purana,—one of the most important legendary and traditional treatises of the Hindus,—is represented as one of the seven original Rishis of the present system of things,† was, as is admitted by all kinds of Hindu authorities, originally a *Rajarsi*, or a rishi from the rajás, though said to be elevated to the *Brahmarshi*, or Brahman grade of rishis, for his talents, acquirements, and observances Jamadagni, who is mentioned also in the Veda as a Rishi,‡—and who, in the later Hindu legends, is

* E g Rig Veda Müller II p 932, et. seq

† Vasishtha, Kashyapa, Atri, Jamadagni, Gautama Vishvamitra, and Bharadvaja are the seven Rishis, according to Wilson's Vishnu Purana p 264 Other lists of the great rishis, are given with variations in Manu and the Puranas, etc For the age of the Puranas,—which are all posterior to the revival of Bráhmanism after the destruction of Buddhism,—see Appendix to the Notes of Colonel Sykes on Ancient India

‡ “Vishvámitra is a remarkable person in the traditions of the Hindu religion according to the historical and *Pauránik* authorities, he was originally a member of the *Kshatriya* or royal and military caste and himself for some time a monarch he was descended from *Kusha*, of the lunar race and was the ancestor of many royal and saintly personages, who, with himself were called after their common ancestor, *Kushikas* or *Kaushikas* by the force of his austerities [sic scribunt Brachmanes] he compelled Brahmá to admit him into

the father of the reputed Avatara Parashurama, is represented as the nephew of Vishvamitra. From both Vishvamitra and Jamadagni, numerous tribes of Bráhmans of mixed blood, according to the legends, claim descent. Many of the Védic hymns are by authors said to be either of the princely class, or to have been raised from it to the priestly class*.

the *Brahmanical* order into which he sought admission in order to be placed upon a level with Vasishta, with whom he had quarrelled his descent, and the circumstances of his dispute with Vasishta are told, with some variation in the *Ramáyana* (ch. 1—lxv Schlegel's edition) in the *Mahábhárata*, *Váyu*, *Vishnu* and *Bhágavata* and other Puranas the details of the *Ramáyana* are most ample the texts of the *Rig Veda* intimate a general conformity with those of the *Puranas* as to the family designation of *Vishvámitra*, and to occasional disagreements from Vasishta, originating, apparently in their respective patronage of hostile princes according, however, to the heroic poems, the *Purána*s and various poems and plays, these two saints were on very amicable terms in their relations to the royal family of *Ayodhyá* or to king *Dasharatha* and his son *Ráma* Wilson's *Rig Veda* 11, pp. 318-319. Neither the chronology nor the geography of the authorities last mentioned is of much consequence in reference to the Rishis, who are handed about by the traditionists ad libitum, both in reference to time and place.

* Mr Colebrooke (As Tians vol. viii p. 393,) long ago, noticed the authorship of certain hymns of the *Rig Véda* as belonging to royal authors, such as Mandhatí, son of Yuvrásíhva, Shrí, son of Ushinara, Vasumanis, son of Rohidáshva and Pratardana, son of Divodasa. Other hymns of the same *Véda* are attributed to several of the sons of Vishvamitra as Madhuchhanda, Rishabha, and Renu, to Ambarisha to Bharata, the father of Devashrava, to Medháththi to Nábhága, to Rahugana, to Vatsapriya the son of Bbálandana, to Paríruva, of the Lunar race of kings to Véna, to Sudása, to Gritsamada the son of Shuníhotra but who afterwards became the son of Súmanu to Ievápi and Shantanu and to other probably authors. Several of the hymns of the last Ashtak of the *Rig Véda* are by

(3) The Rishis and priests received in marriage the daughters of other classes of the community. The Brahmans of the present day are well aware of this fact, but in deference to their later Shástras, they maintain that such marriages were mere indulgences, and confined to the assumption of one wife of each of the higher classes in addition to those of Brahmanical rank. But what will they make of the following story, related in the Níti Manjari of Kakshiyat, the author of several Suktas in the Rig-Veda, whose mother Ushik,—it is to be noted—was the reputed daughter of king Anga's slave? “Kakshiyat having finished his course of study, and taken leave of his preceptor, was journeying home ward, when night came on and he fell asleep by the road-side early in the morning Rájá Svanaya, the son of Bhavayavya, attended by his retinue, came to

Kavasha Ailusha said to be the son of a *Dasa* as noticed by Dr Müller (History of Sanskrit Literature, p 58) A few of the hymns of the Rig Véda are even ascribed to females, real or imaginary, as Shachi the daughter of Pulomana, Shraddha, the daughter of Káma Gorviti the daughter of Sakti, and Vák the daughter of Abhrina.

On various *gotras* or families, of Brahmans mixed with or derived from the regal blood see legendary notices in Wilson's Vishnu Purána pp 369, 405, 448, 457, 454 etc

Dr John Muir in his “Original Sanskrit Texts,” vol 1 pp 44 56, has given a series of “passages sufficient to prove that according to the traditions received by the compilers of the ancient legendary history of India, (traditions so general and undisputed as to prevail over even their strong hierarchical prepossessions,) Brahmans and Kshatriyas were, at least in many cases, originally descended from one and the same stock. Some of the cases referred to by Dr Muir are the same as those of the parties mentioned in the first paragraph of this note. The historical inference ought not to be pressed beyond the bounds indicated by Dr M

the spot and disturbed the Brahman's slumbers upon his starting up the Rāja accosted him with great cordiality, and being struck by his personal appearance, determined, if he was of suitable rank and birth to give him his daughters in marriage After ascertaining his fitness, he took Kakshīvat home with him and there married him to his ten daughters, presenting him at the same time with a hundred nishkas of gold, a hundred horses, a hundred bulls, one thousand and sixty cows, and eleven chariots, one for each of his wives and one for himself, each drawn by four horses Kakshīvat himself, in the Veda, thus celebrates the liberality of his father in law — 'From which generous prince soliciting (my acceptance) I, Kakshīvat, unhesitatingly accepted a hundred nishkas, a hundred vigorous steeds, and a hundred bulls, whereby he has spread his imperishable fame through heaven Ten chariots drawn by bay steeds, and carrying my wives, stood near me given by Svanaya, and a thousand and sixty cows followed Forty bay horses (harnessed) to the chariots, lead the procession in front of a thousand followers The Pajras the kinsmen of Kakshīvat, rub down the high spirited steeds, decorated with golden trappings * It does not appear that Kakshīvat had any wives of his own class The supply which he had from the chief was more than sufficient Other instances of Rishis and priests marrying the daughters of kings are often alluded to †

* Wilson's Rig Vēda vol ii p 14, 17 18

† As those of Chyavana with Sukanya the daughter of Sharyati, (Wilson's R V 1 189 etc) and Jamadagni with Renuka the daughter of Ren 1.

(4) The term *Kshatriya*, applied by the *Shastras*, or Law Books, to the second or warrior class in the Hindu community, is used in the *Védas* only as a denominative of a party possessed of *kshatra* or power. In this sense it is applied to the gods, as to Indra and Varuna and Mitra and Varuna.* In the *Védas*, the word *Kshetrapati*, the "owner of a field," is the name of a person possessed of landed property, and the name *Kshatrapati*, "the possessor of power" seems to have been applicable to any party exercising authority of any kind or extent. *Kshatriya* is the equivalent of *Kshatrapati*. *Kshatra* corresponds, as noticed by Lassen, with the Zend *kshatra*, which also means imperium, agreeing with the Greek *κρατος* and etymologically referring to the attribute of bodily strength. Synonyms of *Kshatriya* were *Vishaspati* or *Vishámpati*, a master of the people or village community, *Raj* the equivalent of the Latin *Rex*, a king, and *Rajanya*, a prince, the derivative of *Raj*. The kings and chiefs of the Aryas are often praised by the Rishis in the *Védas*, but not a word is there uttered about their emanation by birth from the arms of the Godhead. It is a great fact, as noticed by Professor Wilson and others, that "There are [in the *Vedas*] indications of *Rájás* hostile to

* Even *Sayana* (Miller's *R. V.* iii p 498) views it, as applied to the last mentioned gods, as the equivalent of *dhana* wealth, and *bala*, power. In the *R. V.* iii 7 17, *Trasadasya*, a royal sage who identifies himself with the gods in the fanaticism of his devotion, says सम राजा राष्ट्र क्षत्रियस्य विधायोर्विश्वे अभ्यता यथा न 'I have a twofold sovereignty, that of all the *kshatriya* (power), and all the immortals are ours' Prof. Wilson gives "race" as the supplied word, but this seemingly on the authority of *Sayana*.

the ritual who would not therefore have belonged to the recognized military order** The *Rajanyas*, as we have just seen, were sometimes *Rishis* or seers. Even in the times of the ritual Bráhmanas, to be afterwards noticed, they had the privilege of conducting sacrifices.

(5) In the time of the Védas, *visha* (related to *vesha*, a house or district †) generally meant people in general‡, and *Vaishya*, its adjective, was afterwards applied to a householder or to what belonged to an individual of the common people. The Latin *vicus* and the Greek *δικος* are the correspondents of *vesha* || *Visha*, if applied, sometimes, to the pastoral, the agricultural, and the other industrial classes of the community, had reference only to their immediate occupations, without giving them any monopoly of these occupations. In an address to the Ashvins in the Rig-Veda from which we have already quoted a text, we find the general interests of the community, of the worshipper, or of the institutor of the sacrifice, thus referred to—“ Favour the prayer (*brahma*), favour the service, kill the Rakshasas, drive away the

• Preface to vol. II. of Rig Véda, p. xv

† It has this meaning in Zand also

‡ In Rig Véda, III. 1 9, Agni is spoken of as the predecer of *visham manushindám*, human beings. In III. 8 18, he is called *visham vishpati*, the lord of men.

|| *Visha* was pointed out by Kuhn and Lassen as having this relationship. It occurs in the names of many of our own towns, as Greenwich, Woolwich, etc., as indicated by Dr. Müller. As noticed by the antiq. historians now mentioned, it has been p. ed.

evil, favour the power (*khatra*) and favour the manly-strength, favour the cow (*dhenu*, the representative of property), and favour the people (or house, *visha*) *

* This passage, which occurs in the Rig-Véda, 6th asht. 3rd adh 16th varg is a very important one. The text, omitting repetitive clauses runs thus —**ब्रह्म जिन्वत्मुत जिन्वत् धियो इति रक्षासि सेवतममीवा क्षत्र जिन्वत्मुत जिन्वत् नृन्वत् धेनूजिन्वत्मुत जिन्वत् विशोह** (M S Rig Véda, of B B Royal Asiatic Society) In the Pada the words are separated thus **ब्रह्म | जिन्वत् | उत् | जिन्वत् | धिय | इति | रक्षासि | सेवत् | अमीवा | नृन० धेनू | विशोह |** the word **जिन्वत्** being to be supplied after each of the last three words according to the system of notation used (Author's MS of Pada of R V) Sayana Acharya the commentator under the caste feeling of later times identifies *brahma* (prayer) with *Bráhmaṇa* (the man that-prays) and *kshat̄a* (power) with *Kshatriya*, the party exercising power, and *dhenu* the cow and *visha*, the people with the *Vaīhya* the party belonging to the people. This interpretation is not to be wondered at, but it is without early sanction. The *mantra* referred to is a favourite one with the Bráhmans, and, both as in the Rig Veda and as in an expanded form, it is much used in their more solemn and secret services and this in such a way as to show that originally it dealt with interests and not with castes. It occurs in this enlarged form at the commencement of the Taittiríya Brahmana of the Black Yajur Veda —**ब्रह्म सन्धत् तन्मे जिन्वत् | क्षत्र० सन्धत् तन्मे जिन्वत् | इष० सन्धत् ता० मे जिन्वत् | उद्ग० सन्धत् ता० मे जिन्वत् | रथि० सन्धत् ता० मे जिन्वत् | पुष्टि० सन्धत् ता० मे जिन्वत् | प्रजा० सन्धत् ता० मे जिन्वत् | पश्च० सन्धत् तान्मे जिन्वत्** (Author's MS) This may be thus translated —“ Maintain the *prayer*, make it prosperous to me maintain the *power*, make it prosperous to me, maintain the *food* make it prosperous to me maintain the *milk*, make-it-prosperous to me maintain the *wealth*, make it prosperous to me maintain the *offspring*, make it prosperous to me maintain the *herd*, make-it prosperous to me Sayana, in his commentary on this passage identifies *brahma* with the Bráhman caste, engaged for the institution of the sacrifice *Khatra*, he makes the authority of the-head of a district But the other terms used he

Interests here occupy the ground which in later times belonged to particular castes. The unity of the whole immigrant race continued marked by the patronymic name *Arya*, to which we have often referred. The *Vaishyas*, in the times of the *Pándavas* of the great War, according to the *Mahabharata*, had considerable influence in affairs of state, as exemplified in the cases of the wise *Vidur* and *Yuyutsu*. It was only by degrees, and after the *Aryas* had been settled in the great plains of India, that the *Vaishyas* got *special* charge of flocks and herds, and agriculture and merchandise assigned to them, as in the days of *Manu*, for the time was, when a cowkeeper (*gopa*, *gopala*, *gosiámi**) was a chieftain in their community.

(6) The *Shudras*, though treated by *Manu* and Hindu legislation in general, as a component (though enslaved) part of the Indian community, not entitled to the second or sacramental birth, are not even once mentioned in the olden parts of the *Vedas*. They are first locally brought to notice in the *Mahábhára*ta, along with the *Abhíras*, dwelling on the banks of the Indus †. The *Abhíras*, are recognized as in that position by *Ptolemy*, who denominates the district in which they were found *Abria*, ‡

does not venture to apply to any other alleged castes. In the third mantra of the *Taitthriya Bráhma*na, the vital breath, sight, hearing, mind, speech, etc., are coupled with the supplicatory verbs, in the same way as *brahma*, and *kshatra*, evidently showing that matters pertaining to the institution of the sacrifice are referred to throughout.

* This last word is still used as the equivalent of Master. It is particularly applied to classes of religionists.

† *Mahábhára*ta *Bhishma Parva*, 305 (Cal. ed. n. p. 844.)

‡ *Ptol. Geo. lib. vii. p. 102* edit *Bert*

and their representatives are still seen in the *Ahirs* a class of shepherds and cultivators in Sindh, Kachh, and Kathiawad. There are distinct classical notices of the Shúdras in this very locality and its neighbourhood. "In historical times" says Lassen, "their name reappears in that of the town Συδρος on the lower Indus, and, what is especially worthy of notice, in that of the people Συδροι among the northern Arachosians." Thus their existence as a distinct nation is established in the neighbourhood of the Indus, that is to say, in the region in which in the oldest time, the Aryan Indians dwelt. They [the Aryans] probably conquered these earlier inhabitants, and it becomes manifest from this circumstance, that it was from the conquest of the other Aborigines in the interior part of the country, that afterwards the name [Shudra] was extended to the whole servile caste. This name cannot be derived from the Sanskrit, and it is to be presumed that the right spelling should be *Súdra*. If this be correct, it must be sounded *Hudra* in old Persian, and this is confirmed by the statement of Megasthenes, that the Indian nations of the Υδρακαι sent auxiliaries to the Persians before the time of Alexander. ¶

* *Itol* vii 1 61 vi 20 3 They are also mentioned by Dionys Perieg v 1142 under the name Συδροι in which passage other mistakes occur as, e.g. for ταν δ μι ο νατ Σεβε α Τξλει α δρ Σ δε δξιν εν δ εν τα ανηρ φ λα Πι καν εν ματαδ δ Δ α θεαν ντ Ταργατιδ ναν τ λ. must be read, Σ βαι Τεξλα or, according to the variant reading Σε δροι Σδρει; and Γα δερ δα

† [Yet, the Bráhmans connect the word *Shudra*, with *Shishrushá*, service, though they get no real etymological help from this coincidence.]

‡ Strabo xv 1 6 p 687 By Steph Byz Υδρακαι They are distinct from the Οξ δρακαι called in Sanskrit *Kshudraka* Indische Alterthumskunde, vol 1. p 799 800

The extension of the name Shudra to the enslaved and servile classes of the country conquered by the Aryas in contradistinction to the more independent and more cordially hated tribes such as the Chandalas, Amashthas, etc., etc., must have occurred gradually. Some of the Shudras and some of the more independent tribes in the interior land I am inclined, with others, to think may have spoken a dialect not very dissimilar to that of the Aryas and may have been the descendants of a prior Aryan immigration * There seems to have been some hesitation in the Aryan community about the actual religious position to be given to the Shudras. In the time of the liturgical Bráhmanas of the Vedas to be afterwards noticed, they were sometimes admitted to take part in the Aryan sacrifices †. Not long afterwards, when the conquests of the Aryans were greatly

* Many of the names of the Dasyus and other enemies of the Aryas seem to have an Aryan meaning. There are many words current in the northern family of Indian languages which appear to be more cognate with the Sanskrit than immediately derived from it. This remark is not intended to oppose the belief, also confirmed by the state of the Indian languages, that most of the tribes which entered India before the Aryas must have been of Scythian or Turanian origin. Of the Scythian immigrations, two at least, of extensive character, are marked by the differences in the Scythian words of the northern and southern families of languages.

† Roth, in Zeitschrift of the Germ. Or. Soc. vol. 1 p. 83 and Weber's translation of the First Adhyáya of the Shatapatha Bráhmana also in that Journal. In this Bráhmana there occurs a remarkable passage respecting the call of the sacrificers, to this effect — 'If the sacrifice be a Bráhman, it is said, *Eh*! Come! if he is a Vaishya, then it is *Agah*, Come hither! with a Rajabandhu [a transposition of the Vaishya and Rajanya having occurred] it is *Adrava*, Run hither! with a Shádra it is *Advara*, Run hither!

extended, and they formed a settled state of society among the affluents of the Yamuna^a and Ganges, they were degraded to the humiliating and painful position which they occupy in Manu.* There is no mention of any *Sankara*, or Mixed, Castes in the *Vedas*.

(7) In the time of the *Chhandas* of the *Vedas* the idea of the god *Brahmī*, from whose head and arms and thighs and feet the four original castes of the Hindus are held to have been derived, was neither developed nor formed. *Brahma*, is a member of the Hindu Triad, and as the parent of the races of man, is no god whatever of the *Védas*. *Brahma*, in the neuter gender, in the *Vedic* language, as already mentioned, means prayer, and *Brahma*, in the masculine, means " he-of-prayer". *Agni*, the god of fire and sacrifice is the *Prakriti*, the god of prayer, and the *Vishpati*, *Brihaspati*, or *Brahmanaspati*, the lord of prayer, throughout the *Rig-Véda*.† Though he is called *Vishpati*, *Vishampati*, and *Manaspati*, the lord of men, *Vaishravana* the sovereign of all beings, and *Jatavedhas* and *Vedhas Shashvata*, the inspector of men and the constant inspector, as practically useful to man in his person and social life, and as the constant consumer of sacrifice and offerings, he is also spoken of as " the Son of Heaven and Earth," as well as their parent, and was both a derivative god and a Creator, when the early *Súktas* were composed.‡ A desire to have a separate god for prayer, besides the gods of material nature and energy the ancient deities of the *Vedas*, begins

* See above, pp. 46 50

† Dr. Roth thinks that all the *pati* gods are the result of reflection and of later invention

‡ *Rig-Véda*, 3rd. Asht 1st adh s 19

to be apparent in these writings as they advance, and for this god Agni in his function of Brahma was selected. The Brahmins ultimately recognized Brahma as a distinctive metaphysical god, and introduced him to public notice, but, however much they themselves contemplated him, they did not succeed in thoroughly establishing his worship among the Indian people. It is well known that there is only a single temple dedicated to his honour in the whole of India *. To account for his unpopularity, it is feigned in the later Shastras, that he is labouring under a curse from the god Shiva, who even went so far as to cut off one of his heads for his immorality †. Brahma (the divine thing *Brahma* or Soul) is an invention of the ideal Vedanta system of Pantheism long posterior to the Vedas and really designed to supersede them under the assumed name of the Aum or "End of the Védas ‡.

(8) The doctrine or incident, or system, of ceremonial defilement by touch or by eating or drinking —by which the existence of Caste is particularly marked in the present social and religious life of the Hindus—is not recognized in the Vedas in a single instance. It is impossible that it

* This is at the Pokhar (*Pashkavat*) lake near Ajmér Tod's Rājasthān vol i p 774. Even this temple, I found when visiting it to be under the care of devotees, and not that of the regular priesthood.

† Author's First Exposure of Hinduism p 42. In the 3rd asht 8th adh 1nd 10th varg of the Rig Veda Agni is spoken of as having चतुर्वर्ण शृङ्गा four horns. These Sāyana erroneously makes the four Vedas, the collection of which did not exist when the Suktas were composed and Mahidhara, the four officiating priests (the Hotri, Udgātri, Adhvaryu and Brahman) but M. Langlois with much probability makes them four sides of Agni's eastern fire pit in which the my h

should not in some form or other, have been alluded to in these productions, had it existed when they were formed.

Caste in the sense in which it exists in the present day we are more and more persuaded was altogether unknown among the ancient Aryas, though doubtless, like other consociated peoples, they had varieties of rank and order and occupation in their community. A *Panchakshiti*, and *panchayana* (pentad) are occasionally mentioned in the *Vedas** Sayana Acharya says these expressions refer to the four *taṇas* (colours or castes) and the Nishadas treated as outcasts, or to the Gandharvas, Pitrīs, Devas, Asuras, and Rakshasas, as explained in the *Nirukta*. But Professor Lassen properly observes that neither of these explanations is admissible † *Kshiti*, as he remarks, is applied in the *Vēda* to men in general and *charshani*, its synonym is derived from *riṣh* to plow. The *Nishādas* (etymologically the 'settled Aborigines, but applied to races distinct from the Aryan) were then unknown. Even when they came into notice, they remained exterior to the Aryan state. *Jana* signifies a person, *panchayani*, in times later than the *Vēda* an assembly of five men, and *panchayana*, a chief of five men. It is probable, Lassen adds, "that the oldest social communities consisted only of five families. That *Panchakshiti* and *panchayana* signify an aggregate of five men, is evident, but what the members of the aggregation were, it is now almost impossible to declare with certainty. Megasthenes speaks of various municipal and military Pentads as existing among the Indians in his day ‡ Many aggregations of five per-

* R V iv 2 5

† *umakunde*, vol 1. p. 796

‡ Megasthenes in Cory's Ancient Fragments p 220 et seq

sous or puties are it present recognized by the Hindus *

In virtue of the remarks which we have now made, and proofs and illustrations whic! we have now brought forward, we hold that Caste in the ancient Vedic times was no systematic institution of the Aryas. The opinion of Dr. Max Muller the editor of the *Rig Veda* and the most competent judge in the case, is entirely in accordance with that which we have ventured to express. In a Review of Muus Texts in the London *Times*, he has the following passage — 'Does Caste, as we find it in Manu and at the present day, form part of the religious teaching of the Vedas? We answer with a decided

No. There is no authority whatever in the Veda for the complicated system of castes, no authority for the offensive privileges claimed by the Brahmins, no authority for the degraded position of the Shúdras. There is no law to prohibit the different classes of the people from living together from eating and drinking together, no law to prohibit the marriage of people belonging to different castes, no law to brand the offspring of such marriages with an indelible stigma. All that is found in the Veda, at least in the most ancient portion of it—the Hymns—is a verse, in which it is said that the four castes, the priest, the warrior, the husbandman and the self-sprung all alike from Brahmin. Europeans are able to show that even this verse is of later origin than the great mass of the Hymns †

* See Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary under the compound of वृत्ति. The *Arya varna* (or colour) is spoken of as a unity in Rig Veda 3rd asht 2 > 9

† The Times, 10th April 1858

The verse here referred to by Dr Mullel was first brought to notice by Colebrooke. It occurs in the *Purusha Sulta*, or Hymn of the Primeval Male, translated by him in his *Essay on the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus**. It has been quoted and translated by Burnouf in his introduction to his translation of the *Bhagavata Purina†*, and lately it has been literally and correctly rendered by Dr John Muir, whose version we here introduce with the text subjoined, that a proper estimate of its bearings on the subject immediately before us may be formed.

"Purusha has a thousand heads, a thousand eyes a thousand feet
 Everywhere pervading the earth he overpassed a space of ten fingers
 2 Purusha alone is this whole [universe], which has been, and is
 to be He is the lord of immortality, that which expands by nutri-
 ment (?) 3 So great is his glory and Purusha is greater than
 this. All creatures make a fourth of him three fourths of him (are)
 immortality in the sky 4 Purusha with these three parts mounted
 upwards a fourth of him was again produced here He then diffused
 himself everywhere among things animate and inanimate 5 From
 him sprang Viraj over Viraj was Purusha being born he extended
 himself, and (produced) the earth and corporeal forms 6 When
 the gods offered up Purusha in sacrifice the spring was its clarified
 butter summer its wood and autumn the offering 7 This victim
 Purusha, born primevally they immolated on the sacrificial grass
 with him as their oblation the gods Sadhyas, and Rishis sacrificed
 8 From that universal oblation were produced cows and clarified
 butter He produced the animals of which Vayu is the deity, both
 wild and tame 9 From that universal sacrifice were produced
 hymns called *rish* and *sáman*, the metres and *yayus* 10 From that
 were produced horses and all animals with two rows of teeth cow,
 goats and sheep 11 When they formed (or offered up) Purusha
 into how many parts did they divide him? What was his mouth?

* *Asiatic Researches*, vol vii p 251 and *Misc Essays* 1 p 167 8

† Burnouf's B P 1 cxxiii

What were his arms ? What were called his thighs and feet ? 12 The *Brahman* was his mouth , the *Rajanya* was made by arms that which was the *Vaishya* was his thighs the *Shudra* sprang from his feet 13 The moon was produced from his mind (*Manas*) the sun from his eye Indra and Agni from his mouth , and *Vayu* from his breath 14 From his navel came the atmosphere from his head the sky from his feet the earth from his ear the four quarters so they formed the worlds 15 When the gods in performing their sacrifice bound Purusha as their victim there were seven trenches (round the altar) and there were made thrice seven pieces of fuel 16 With sacrifice the Gods worshipped the sacrifice these were the first rites These great beings attained to the heaven where the gods , the ancient *Sadhyas* reside *

सहस्रशीष पुरुष सहस्राक्ष सहस्रपात् । स भूर्मिं विश्वतो वत्वा उम्यतश्च इश्वरुः गुला ॥
 ॥१॥ पुरुष एवेद सर्वं यद् भूतं यच्च भ प । उत्तामत व स्येश्वानो यद्भेनातिरोहति ॥२॥
 एतावान अस्यमहिमाऽन्तो र्वाणीक्षपरुष । पादोस्य विश्वा भूनानि त्रिपादस्यामत दिवि ॥
 ॥३॥ त्रिपाद इद्ध उदैत् पुरुष पादोस्येहा भवत्युन ततोविश्वङ् यक्तमन साशनान-
 श्वाने अभिम ॥४॥ तस्माद् विराज्ञायत विराजो अध पूरुष । सज्जातो अत्यरिच्यत
 पश्चात्भूमि मध्यो पुर ॥५॥ यत् पुरुषेण हविशा देवायज्ञमवन्वत । वसतो अस्यासीद्
 आत्म्य दीप्त्यम हृथ्य शरद द्विति ॥६॥ तयज्ञ वर्द्धिषि मौक्षिन पुरुष जात मग्रत । तेन देवा
 अयजत सध्या ऋषयक्षये ॥७॥ तस्मात् यज्ञात सवहुत सभन पवदाक्षय । पश्चू
 स्ताक्षके वायत्र्यान अरप्यान याम्याक्षये ॥८॥ तस्मात् यज्ञात् सवहुत अत्यं सामानि
 जज्ञिरे । छदोसि जज्ञिरे तस्मात् यज्ञस्तास्मादज्ञायत ॥९॥ तस्मादशा अजायत येके
 चो भयादत । गोदोह जज्ञिरे तस्मात् तस्माज्ञाता अजाय ॥१०॥ य पुरुष व्यदधु
 कतिवा पक्ष्ययन । मुख किमस्य कौ वाहू काञ्छ वाता उच्येते ॥११॥ ब्राह्मणीस्य
 मुखमासीत वाहू राजन्य कृत उरु वदस्य यद् वैश्य पद्मांशु शूद्रो अजायत ॥१२॥
 चद्रमामनसो जातक्षो सूर्यो अजायत । मुखाद् इद्रक्षामिक्ष प्राणात् वायुरज्ञायत ॥१३॥
 नाभ्या मासीद् अनारिक्ष शीष्णो दौ समवतन । पद्मचा भूमिर्द्वश्रोत्रात तथालोकानक-
 ल्पयन् ॥१४॥ सप्तास्यासन परिधय स्ति सप्त समिक्ष कता । देवायद् यज्ञ
 तन्वाना अवध्यन पुरुष पश्च ॥१५॥ यज्ञेन यज्ञ मजायत देवास्तानि भर्माणि प्रथमा-
 न्यासन । तेहिनाक महिमान सच्चत यत्रपूर्वे साध्या सतिदेवा ॥१६॥

The text we take from the MS of the B. B. R. A. S. which on comparison we find, except two letters, agrees with that of Borkouf which was made from the same original copy that of Colonel Shortrede

Dr Muller has lately well illustrated his own remark, that European critics are able to show that this passage of the Vedas is of "later origin than the great mass of the hymns. In his History of Sanskrit Literature he thus writes respecting it — "There can be little doubt that it is modern both in its character and in its diction. It is full of allusions to the sacrificial ceremonials, it uses technical philosophical terms, it mentions the three seasons in the order of Vasanta, spring Grishma, summer, and Sharad, autumn, it contains the only passage in the Rig-Veda where the four castes are enumerated. The evidence of language for the modern date of this composition is equally strong. Grishma for instance the name of the hot season, does not occur in any other hymn of the Rig-Veda, and Vasanta also the name of spring does not belong to the earliest vocabulary of the Vedic poets. It occurs but once more in the Rig-Veda (mand 161 4') Dr Muller brings down this hymn to the time of making the final collection of the Rig-Veda Samhita 'the work of the Maitri period, to which he gives the date of 1000-800 before Christ. He does not carry it lower, because of allusions to it in the Brahmanas, and because it has found a place in the collections of the Va-jaseyins and Atharvans* That it cannot be carried higher than this is obvious not only from the considerations above referred to, but from the distinction (recognized by it) in the Vedic "hymns called the *Rik* and *Sáman*, the metres (*Chandas*), and the *Yajus*, which seems to indicate the existence of an artificial division at the time it originated of the Vedic material at least for conventional sacrificial purposes.

* Muller's Hist Sans Lit p 572

In regard to the meaning of the Puruṣha Sukta we adhere to the judgment which we have elsewhere expressed upon it “ The support which even it gives to the system of caste is of a very limited character. The passage in it which approximates the subject is the following —‘ When they produced Puruṣha [perhaps equivalent to when Puruṣha was produced] into how many portions did they separate him? What was his mouth? What were his arms? What were pronounced his thighs and feet? The Brahman was his mouth, the Rājanya (prince) was made his arms, the Vaishya was his thighs, and the Shudra sprang from his feet. This occurs in a composition which is both metaphysical and figurative, and it probably expresses an idea originally of this character —The Brahman, as the expositor of the will of God, conceived of as an enormous male, and the recipient of the gifts and offerings made to the divinities, was the mouth of this male, the Rājanya the prince or warrior, the instrument of offence and defence, was the arms of this male, the Vaishya, as the cultivator of the soil, and the original possessor of its wealth, was the thighs of this male and the Shudra, or slave, as the lowest member of the body social was the feet of this male. All this is clearly metaphysical and metaphorical though afterwards it was viewed as historical and dogmatic. * For the system of caste, it is now obvious, there is no legitimate warrant in the great hymn collection of the Rig-Veda.

* India Three Thousand Years Ago, pp 44 45

Dr Muir illustrating the Purusha Sukta properly says “ It is only the Shudra who is here said to have sprung from the feet of Purusha. In a hymn of this allegorical and mystical character, it cannot be assumed that the writer intended to represent it as a

Nor is such countenance of Caste to be found in any of the *older* portions of the other Vedas, which are all taken from what is properly denominated by Dr Müller the 'one genuine collection, the so-called Rig-Veda, or the Veda of praise' *

The first of these derivative Vedas is the *Sāma*, the whole of whose texts, with few exceptions, as already hinted, have been actually found in the Rik, especially in the eighth and ninth mandals †. It is not to be expected, consequently, that much light should be cast by it individually on the social state of the ancient Aryas even though it should be admitted, as thought by Dr Müller, that the time of its construction falls within that of the Brahmanas,—between 800—600 years before Christ. We notice a few things which have struck our attention when going over it in connection with the subject before us.

The god Brahma is distinguished in one place both from Agni, the god of fire, and Vṛihaspati, the lord of prayer ‡. A pre-eminence among the gods is in one other place. It is a historical fact, that the four different classes sprang from different parts of Purusha's body—any more than that he desired to resent it is literally true, what he has stated in verses 13 and 14, that 'the moon was produced from his mind, the sun from his eye, Indra and Agni from his mouth and Vayu from his breath &c &c &c'. In fact the Yajur Vēda alleges that Vayu came forth from his ear, and so contradicts the Rig-Vēda Texts i. 10.

* Review in *Times*, 10th April, 1858

† As the *Sāma* does not make quotations from the last hymns of the Rik, it has been inferred by Weber and others that its pieces had been arranged before the completion of the Rig-Veda collection but Dr Müller (Anc Sans. Lat. p. 427) attributes both its collection and that of the Rig-Vēda to the Brahmana period. See Muir's *Texts*, ii. 203.

‡ Benfey's *Text of Sāma Vēda*, p. 10

scribed to him, no doubt because he is viewed as the lord of sacrifice* In the passage last referred to, the *Rishi* is mentioned as the marked one among the *Vipras*, or intelligent while in another the *Vipra* is denominated the instrumentality or agent of the sacrifice,† thus intimating that the designation was being applied distinctively to an officiating priest. Several passages in the *Sama* in which the word *Brahma* used as a human conductor of prayer or sacrifice are taken from the *Rik* need not be here noticed. The human *Brahma* is spoken of in one place as the master of (holy) seasons, and the *Brahmans* as praising India in hymns † The designation *Brahma* seems from this to have been about this time coming into use as a generic

* This is in a curious address to the sacred *Soma*, the genius of ardent spirits —

सोम पवते जनिता मतीना जनिता निवी जनिता पथ्या ।
जनिता प्रेजनिता सूयस्य जनितेऽस्य जानतो तद्विष्णो ॥
ब्रह्मा वेवाना पदवी कवीनामृषिवप्राणामहिशो मगाणा ।
इयेनो ग्रधाणा० स्वधितवनाना० सोम पवित्रमन्येति रेभन ॥

Sama Veda 2nd part iii 3 Stevenson's Text p 77 Benfey's 81

Soma is pure the generator of intellect, the generator of the heaven the generator of fire the generator of the sun the generator of India, and the generator of the earth, the generator of Vishnu—*Soma*, when sounding it goes to its holy place, (is) *Brahma* among the gods, the high one among the poets the *Rishi* among the *Vipras* the hawk among the raptiores, the buffaloe among horned animals and the sword among cleavers

† विप्रो यज्ञस्य साधन *Sama*, ii 6 (Benfey, p 126)

‡ एष ब्रह्मा य कविय इद्रो नाम शतो गृणे ॥

ब्रह्माण इद्र महयनो अर्कैरवधयज्ञहये हनवा उ ॥

Sama Veda part 1st v 6 2 Stevenson's Text p 38 Benfey's p 46 Complete Mullaya's Comment sub loc

term for a priest. Nothing of a peculiar character occurs in the Sama applying either to the *Rājā* or the *Visha*.

The second of the derivative Vēdas, the *Yajus* or *Yajur* as already mentioned, exists in two forms, the Black and the White * They are partly in prose and partly in verse the poetical portion being generally that which is taken from the *Rik*. Exclusive of their texts from the *Rik*, they appear, in their liturgical directions especially very like the *Brahmanas*, to the era of which, as collections, they belong. They indicate the assumption of Brahmanical pre-eminence, but in the face of opposition from certain portions of the Indian community.

In the Black *Yajur* Vēda, the *Brahma*, and *Kshatra* are (with the *Suprāya* (the good population), and *Rayasposhu* supporting wealth), recognized as distinct interests, in prayers several times used †. The predominance of the Brahman in sacrifice is set forth throughout this collection, at least of the portions of it which have been printed. Social distinctions are recognized in it as those of the *Brahma*, the *Rājanya* prince, the *Mahishu* the wife of an anointed king, the *Parvihita*, according to the commentator Madhava "the unloved wife of a king" (concubine?), the *Sēnani*, general, the *Sūta*, charioteer, the *Grāmam* villager, the *Kshatta*, the 'guardian of the females', the *Sangrahita*, the treasurer, the *Bhāgadugha*,

* See above p. 74. In the text of the White *Yajur* Vēda, ably edited by Dr. Weber of Berlin, there are 4040 lines. Dr. W. gives us also the text of the commentary of Mahidhara, the Shatapathia Brahman, and the Shānta Sutras or *Katyayin*, and Extracts from the Commentaries of Kālīka and *Yajnikadeva*.

† *Taittirīya Sanbīta* of Y V 1 3 1 1 9 6 (Roei and Cowell vol. 1 pp. 445, 492)

the collector (of the king's portion, said by the commentator to be the sixth part), the *Akshávapa* the player at dice * But these are probably principally designations of parties in public office The commentator speaks of them as the recognized supporters of the kingdom † An appropriation of the gods is thus made in recognition of certain orders of the community ' Brihaspati is the god of speech Indra, of chiefs, Mitra, of the truthful, Váruna of the religious , and "Soma of us the Brahmans ‡ Brahmans and Kshatriyas are viewed as distinct, in connexion with the colour of the beasts used in a certain sacrifice §

In the White Yajur Veda the information bearing on our subject is such as the following —

In this Veda the *Brahma* and *Kshatra* are coupled together in the worship of Agni, and in other connexions as in the Black Yajur Véda|| The Bráhman is mentioned as an object of reverence with ancestors and rishis,|| Indra (the thunderer) is declared to be the hold and support of the *Kshatra*,** while he is also set forth as the god of the *Kshatra* and the princedom Soma (so often addressed in sacrifice) is declared to be the god of the *Bráhmans*,†† as in a passage from the Sama Veda already referred to The different functions in the community of the Brahman and Kshatra are thus indirectly recognized Salutations are given to the *Kshetrapati*, proprietor of fields to the *Suta*, bard or chario-

* Taittariya Sanhítá, 1 8 9 ¶ S Y V 1 6 46

† Roer & Cowell's Ed vol. II p 10a ** S. Y V 1 9 8

‡ Taitt S of 1 V , 8 10 †† Shukla Yajur Veda 1 9 19

§ Taittariya Sanhítá of Y V II 1 2

|| Shukla Yajur-Veda, 1 1 18 1 5 26

teer to the *Tashapati*, probably master of a subjugated tribe,* to the *Kullunchapati* "inhabiting mountainous regions", to the bearers of bows and arrows, to the *Shvapati*, or master of hounds, to the *Vratapati*, "the master of a multitude," to the *Sena* and *Senāni*, to the army and the leader of the army, to the *Sangīhita* treasurer, to the *Taksha*, carpenter, and *Rathakara* the coachmaker, to the *Kulīla*, the potter, and *Karmara*, the worker in the coarser metals, to the *Nishāda*, aboriginal settler,† and to other parties recognized as classes in the community ‡ The Brahman is spoken of as endowed with the knowledge of Brahma (*brahmavarchasi*) and the Rajanya, as possessed of bravery (*shura*) §

Even more distinctive notices than these of the varied and numerous classes of Indian society occur in the White Yajur Veda. They are found in connexion with the most mysterious rite of Hinduism, that of the *Pūnushamedha*, or sacrifice of Purusha, nominally the god Prajāpati. A whole Adhāya, or section is devoted to them,|| in which the parties are brought forward, or consecrated as typical representatives of the multitudinous objects recognized in the Pūnushamedha. A few of these parties are mentioned, also, in the Shatapatha Brahmana

* In Wilson's Sans Dict *Tashara* is rendered by "thief robber" Mahidhura in his commentary on the Shukla Yajur Veda attaches a similar meaning to the word. Weber's ed. 1 p. 497

† Mahidhura views the *Nishadas* as mountain Bhillas, eaters of flesh. Weber's Text 1 p. 500. The word *Nishada*, as shown by Lassen, means the settled

‡ Shukla Yajur Veda, 1 16 18 26

§ Shukla Yajur Veda, 11 22 20 (Weber's ed. p. 703)

|| Shukla Yajur Veda, adh. 30 (Weber's ed. 1 p. 841 848)

of the Yajur Véda,* and with variations they all occur in the Taittiriya Brahmana of the Black Yajur Véda,† in a passage which, as far as I know, has not yet attracted the attention of Europeans.

The importance of the Adhyáya of the White Yajur Véda, now mentioned, in the illustration of ancient Indian society requires its quotation in full.

1 <i>Brhma</i>	<i>Brahmagam</i>	for the Brahma	a <i>Brähman</i>
2 <i>Kshatrya</i>	<i>Riyanjanam</i>	for the Kshatrya	a <i>Prince</i>
3 <i>Varudhaja</i>	<i>Tatshyam</i>	for Tillage	a <i>Taistja</i>
4 <i>Uparas</i>	<i>Shudram</i>	for Toil	a <i>Shudra</i>
5 <i>Tamas</i> ‡	<i>Tashnam</i>	for Darkness	a <i>Thief</i>
6 <i>Arakya</i>	<i>Terhanam</i>	for Hellishness	a <i>Hurd</i> or
7 <i>Apmane</i>	<i>Klibam</i>	for Sin	a <i>Wretch</i>
8 <i>Akrayayya</i>	<i>Iyogam</i>	for Distress (?)	an <i>Ayogava</i>
9 <i>Kamtya</i>	<i>Pushchalam</i>	for Lust	a <i>Horse</i>
10 <i>Atirukshitiya</i>	<i>Urgadham</i>	for great Mourning	a <i>Urgadha</i>
11 <i>Vrittiya</i>	<i>Sutam</i>	for Dancing	a <i>Sita</i>
12 <i>Gatiya</i>	<i>Shail sham</i>	for Singing	an <i>Actor</i>
13 <i>Dharmayya</i>	<i>Sabt charam</i>	for Duty (or Reli-	an <i>Attendant-on-the-</i>
		gion)	<i>Synagogue</i>
14 <i>Nari kthayat</i>	<i>Bh malam</i>	for Bad luck,	a <i>Irishful-person</i>
15 <i>Narm ja</i>	<i>R bham</i>	for Amusement	an <i>Orator</i>
16 <i>Buseya</i>	<i>K im</i>	for Laughter	an <i>Artificer</i>
17 <i>Anandaya</i>	<i>Mr shakham</i>	for Joy	a <i>Lover of women</i>
18 <i>Pramade</i>	<i>Kumari putram</i>	for Pleasure	a <i>Son of an unmarried girl</i>
19 <i>M dhyas</i>	<i>Rathakuram</i>	for Intelligence,	a <i>Chariot</i> of males
20 <i>Dhuryya</i>	<i>T kshanam</i>	for Firmness	a <i>Carpenter</i>
21 <i>Tapas</i> §	<i>K ululam</i>	for Labour	a <i>Potter</i>
22 <i>Vaylyat</i>	<i>Karnidram</i>	for Jugglery	a <i>Blacksmith</i>
23 <i>Rupeda</i>	<i>Manikdram</i> ,	for Beadwork	a <i>Jeweller</i>
24 <i>Shubh</i>	<i>T apam</i>	for Auspiciousness,	a <i>Sorcer</i>
25 <i>Varavayaya</i>	<i>Ishukaram</i>	for Shooting	a <i>Maker-of-arrows</i>
26 <i>Utyat</i>	<i>Dhanavikaram</i>	for Armour	a <i>Maker of bows</i>

* Adhyáya, viii.

† Taittiriya Brahmana of the Krishna Yajur-Véda, iii fol 40 of Author's MS

‡ The numbers here given are not in the Véda

§ We have had *प्रवा* already (in No 4). The Taittiriya Brahmana has here *शुभम्* instead of also *उत्तिर्या*

27 <i>Karmapé</i>	<i>Jydkdram</i>	for Activity	a <i>Maker of bow strings</i>
28 <i>Dishi hya</i>	<i>Rajusaryam</i>	.. for Fortune	a <i>Rapemake</i>
29 <i>Mritjané</i>	<i>Ungayam</i>	for Death	a <i>Huiteman</i>
30 <i>Antakdya</i>	<i>Svannam</i>	for the Agent of death	a <i>Dogman</i>
31 <i>Dad bhyah</i>	<i>Paunji hta</i>	for Rivers	a <i>Paunji hta</i>
32 <i>Rakshshubhhyot</i>	<i>Rashddam</i>	for a Watchman	a <i>Descendant of a Nushila</i>
33 <i>Purusharyd ghydya</i>	<i>Durmardam</i>	for Haughtiness	a <i>Druillard</i>
34 <i>Gandharvapsa robi yo</i>	<i>Vrdtyam</i>	for the Gandharvas and Apsaras	a <i>Vratya.</i>
35 <i>Prayugbhyah</i>	<i>Unmattam</i>	for the Abstracted	a <i>Madman</i>
36 <i>Sarpad sqa ie bhyo</i>	<i>Apratipadam</i>	for Serpents and an Ignorant Devajanans	a <i>Devajanans</i>
37 <i>Ayebhyah</i>	<i>K tavam</i>	for Luck	a <i>Dice-player</i>
38 <i>Iryat ja</i>	<i>Akitavam</i>	for the Deported	a <i>Young-player of dice</i>
39 <i>Pushachedhyah</i>	<i>B dalakirin</i>	for Pashachas	a <i>f rule-Basket maker</i>
40 <i>Yatudhdnebhyah</i>	<i>Kantakkárum</i>	for the Yatudhánu	† a <i>Minimaker</i>
41 <i>Sandhayé</i>	<i>Jdram</i>	for Junction	a <i>Paramour</i>
42 <i>Géhaya</i>	<i>Upapatum</i>	for the House	a <i>Concubine</i>
43 <i>Artyar</i>	<i>Farvittam</i>	for Affliction	an <i>Unnarrow-elder</i> b other §
44 <i>Nurritayat</i>	<i>Parivvndnam</i>	for Misfortune	a <i>Married elder brother</i>
45 <i>Nushkrityat</i>	<i>Feel ashdrim</i>	for Craft	an <i>illegitimate</i>
46 <i>Samyanaya</i>	<i>Smarahar m</i>	for Gesture	an <i>Amorous-woman</i>
47 <i>Prakdmodydyta</i>	<i>Upasadam</i>	for Love	a <i>Companion</i> .
48 <i>Balbya</i>	<i>Upaddm</i>	for Strength	an <i>Observer</i>
49 <i>Varidya</i>	<i>Anurudham</i>	for Varpa (Descent)	a <i>Follower or Page</i>)
50 <i>Utsddebhyah</i>	<i>Kubjam</i>	for the Applying-of Lingualts	a <i>Hunehbaol.</i>
51 <i>Pramudé</i>	<i>Tdmanam</i>	for Amusement	a <i>Dwarf</i>
52 <i>Dwarbhyah</i>	<i>Srdnam</i>	for Doors	a <i>Blue-eyed person</i>
53 <i>Snapndya</i>	<i>Andham</i>	for Dreaming	a <i>Blind-person</i>
54 <i>Adl arndya</i>	<i>Bad' um</i>	for Irreligion	a <i>Deaf person</i>
55 <i>Pavnti ja</i>	um	for Purification	a <i>Physician</i>
56 <i>Praynandya</i>	<i>natradarsham</i>	for Philosophy	an <i>Astronomer</i>

* *Mahidbara*, the commentator makes this a *Slayer of birds* and the *Lowest-born* the *Pukka a.*

† The coupling of the Watchman with the less of the Nishada suggests the idea that the word *Rakshasa* may have come into use from the aboriginal tribes having been employed as Watchmen. See above p 99

‡ The name *Yatudhánu* is applied to magicians, barbarians and demons

§ " a younger being unmarried Mahidbara

ORIGIN OF CASTE—THE PURUSA MEDHA

12

57 <i>Ashukshaya</i>	<i>Prashnumam,</i>	for Non instruction	a <i>Catechizer</i>
58 <i>Upashukshaya</i>	<i>Abhiprashnumam,</i>	for Elementary-instruction,	an <i>Interrogator</i>
59 <i>Maryddhya</i>	<i>Prashnavidham</i>	for Boundaries	a <i>Revealer-of Omen</i>
60 <i>Armedhya</i>	<i>Hastipam</i>	for Conveyances	an <i>Elephant-keeper</i>
61 <i>Jaodya</i>	.. <i>Ashvapam</i>	for Running	a <i>Horse-keeper</i>
62 <i>Pushtai</i>	<i>Gopalam,</i>	for Nourishment	a <i>Cowkeeper</i>
63 <i>Virydya</i>	.. <i>Avipalam</i>	for Heroism	a <i>Shepherd</i> .
64 <i>Tyaed</i>	<i>Ayaplam</i>	for Bravery	a <i>Goatherd</i> .
65 <i>Irdaya</i>	.. <i>Kindham</i>	for the Earth	a <i>Cultivator</i>
66 <i>Kivaldy</i>	<i>Surdikdram,</i>	for Water	a <i>Dealer-in-Spirits</i>
67 <i>Bhadrdya</i>	<i>Grihapam</i>	for Wellbeing	a <i>Housekeeper</i>
68 <i>Shregas</i>	<i>Vittadham</i>	for Prosperity	a <i>Holder-of Wealth</i>
69 <i>A dhyakshadya</i>	<i>Anukshattidram</i>	for Oversight	a <i>Footman</i>
70 <i>Bhdya</i>	<i>Ddvravham</i>	for Combustion	a <i>Timber-bringer</i>
71 <i>Prabhdya</i>	<i>Agnedham</i>	for Light	a <i>Fire-kindler</i>
72 <i>Bradhnsaya</i> <i>vishtapdya</i>	<i>Abhishektidram</i>	for the Region of the Sun	for the <i>Region of an Anointer</i>
73 <i>Varshikshadya</i> <i>Vdkdya</i>	<i>Parodeshikdram,</i>	for Supreme Para	a <i>Distributor-of</i> <i>dise</i>
74 <i>Devalokdya</i>	<i>Peshikdram</i>	for the Abode-of	<i>food to-guests</i>
75 <i>Manushyayolokdya</i>	<i>Prakaritidram</i>	for the abode of Men	a <i>Moulder</i>
76 <i>Sarvabhyoloke</i> <i>dkyan</i>	<i>Upasiktdram</i>	for the Universe	a <i>Sprinkler</i>
77 <i>Avaritym dhd</i> <i>ga</i>	<i>Upamanthidram</i>	for the Detrusion	a <i>Churner</i>
78 <i>Medhaya vdsah</i>	<i>Papilim</i>	of Adversity	a <i>Washer-of-clothes</i>
79 <i>Prakamdya</i>	<i>Rajayutrim</i>	for Sacrifice	a <i>Dyer-of-clothes</i>
80 <i>Ritay</i>	<i>Stnayridayam</i>	for Eagerness	a <i>Thievish-hearted-</i> person
81 <i>Vairhatydy</i>	<i>Pishunam,</i>	for Malicious Mur- der	a <i>Backbiter</i>
82 <i>Viklyas</i>	<i>Kshattidram</i>	for Loneliness	a <i>Kshaita (Looter)</i>
83 <i>4upad strdy</i>	<i>Anukshattidram</i>	for Supervision,	a <i>Sub-Looter</i>
84 <i>Baldya</i>	<i>Anucharam</i>	for Strength	a <i>Follower</i>
85 <i>Bhumn</i>	<i>Varshkandam</i>	for Water	a <i>Climber</i>
86 <i>Prydya</i>	<i>Priyavddinam</i>	for Love	a <i>Sweet-speaker</i>
87 <i>Arishyda</i>	<i>Arasadam,</i>	for Fortune (or Mis- fortune)	a <i>Horseman</i>
88 <i>Swargayayoloya</i>	<i>Bhdgadugham</i>	for Heaven	a <i>Bhdgadughha</i> .
89 <i>Manzare</i>	<i>Ayastdpm</i>	for Anger	a <i>Heater-of-iron</i> (a <i>Blacksmith?</i>)
90 <i>Kroahaya</i>	<i>Nisaram</i>	for Anger	a <i>Ferryman</i> .
91 <i>Yogdya</i>	<i>Yoktdram</i>	for Junction	a <i>Joiner</i>
92 <i>Shoknya</i>	<i>Abhisartidram</i>	for Grief	a <i>Water</i>

A Collection of the plates in this issue. See before p. 124

93 <i>Kshemaya</i>	<i>Vimuktaram</i>	for Happiness	a <i>Liberator</i>
94 <i>Utkulanukule-</i> <i>bhyāḥ</i>	<i>Shivāthnam</i>	for Arrival and Non-arrival	a <i>Man-of worth</i> .
95 <i>Vapushe</i>	<i>Munusukham</i>	for a Handsome Body	a <i>Proved man</i>
96 <i>Shildya</i>	<i>Anyanukām</i>	for Beauty	an <i>Anointer-of the eyes</i>
97 <i>Vurrtiyas</i>	<i>Koshakaram</i>	for Misfortune	a <i>Maker-of sheath for sword</i>
98 <i>Yamdyā</i>	<i>Asum</i>	for Yama	a <i>Barren woman</i>
99 <i>Yamdyā</i>	<i>Yama un</i>	for Yama	a <i>Bearer-of Tricus +</i>
100 <i>Atharvabhyo ..</i>	<i>Avatolām</i>	for a Priest	a <i>Woman-without offspring</i>
101 <i>Samvatsarāya</i>	<i>Parayagin m</i>	for a complete-year	a <i>Woman-skilled- couitting</i>
102 <i>Parivatsaraya</i>	<i>Atiyatam</i>	for the Past Year	a <i>Woman-who has not borne a child</i>
103 <i>Idvatsaraya</i>	<i>Atitvar m</i>	for the Present Year	an <i>Unchaste-woman</i>
104 <i>Idvatsardya ..</i>	<i>Atishkadaaram</i>	for a Prosperous Year	a <i>Woman-in-her- courses</i>
105 <i>Vatsaraya</i>	<i>Vijayaram</i>	for the Year (un- defined)	an <i>Old woman</i>
106 <i>Samvatsardya.</i>	<i>Palikn m</i>	for Time	a <i>White-haired man</i>
107 <i>Ribhubhyo</i>	<i>Ajinsandham</i>	for the Ribhus	a <i>Skundresser</i>
108 <i>Sadhyabhyāḥ</i>	<i>Charmannam</i>	for the Sadhus	a <i>Deale-in-skins</i>
109 <i>Sarobhyo</i>	<i>Dhauraram</i>	for Waters	a <i>Man-of the fisher class</i>
110 <i>Upasthītā-</i> <i>bhyo</i>	<i>Dasham</i>	for Mountains	a <i>Dasha (Daeyu)</i>
111 <i>Vaishanta-</i> <i>bhyo</i>	<i>Baundam</i>	for Pools	One of the-B <i>ida-</i> <i>class (a Hunter)</i> 1
112 <i>Nadealdbhyāḥ</i>	<i>Shaushkalan</i>	for Fens	a <i>Fishdeale</i>
113 <i>Pṛdīya</i>	<i>Margdram</i>	for the Opposite Bank of a River	a <i>Deer killer</i>
114 <i>Aṣṭraya</i>	<i>Kaivartam</i>	for the Near Bank of a River	a <i>Kaivartta (Fisher man)</i>
115 <i>Tirthabhyāḥ</i>	<i>Andam</i>	for Ferries	an <i>Andā</i>

The god of the other world

† In the Taittirīya Brahmana, we have *Yamya* of the *dati* family for *Yamā* of the *Shankha* Taittīya text. This reading which refers the personage represented to *Yā* the sister of wife of *Yama* seems the more appropriate.

‡ The commentator couples the *Binda* or *Vinda* with the *Vishāda* possibly with reference to the *Vindhya* mountains.

§ The word *śrīka*, here used as a forty seems to have got into use from the Brahmins having chosen the *śrīka* of rivers as their early stations.

116 <i>Visham bhyo</i>	<i>Manalam</i>	for Precipices	<i>One-of the Mindless class</i>
117 <i>Svandhyah</i>	<i>Parnokam</i>	for Echoes	<i>a Parnaka (Vender of leaves)</i>
118 <i>Gurdbhyah</i>	<i>Kiratam,</i>	for Caves	<i>a Kirata.</i>
119 <i>Sdn bhyo</i>	<i>Jambhakam</i>	for Mountain Plateaus	<i>a Jambhaka (Savage)</i>
120 <i>Pa vatsbhyah</i>	<i>Kimp rushan</i>	for (High) Mountains	<i>a Kimpurusha</i>
121 <i>Bhaskasyas</i>	<i>Pavilokam</i>	for Disgust	<i>a Person of the Pukaza tribe</i>
122 <i>-aya</i>	<i>Hira yakaram</i>	for the Precious Metal	<i>a Goldsmith.</i>
123 <i>T dayas</i>	<i>t nja i</i>	for Weighing	<i>a Person of the Vdm class (a Vender)</i>
124 <i>Pa hch do sJ ja</i>	<i>Glavin m</i>	for the Posterior fault	<i>a Mourner</i>
125 <i>Tishu blyobt tedhyas</i>	<i>Sdl mala</i>	for the Vsh Baitas (all the 11 months)	<i>a Leper</i>
126 <i>Bhutya</i>	<i>J garv am</i>	for Prosperity	<i>a Watcher</i>
127 <i>Abhutya</i>	<i>Swapn am</i>	for Adversity (or Non Existences)	<i>a Drowning man.</i>
128 <i>st jan</i>	<i>Janavadd nam</i>	for Sickness	<i>a Popular Speaker</i>
129 <i>T idhyas</i>	<i>Apagalbham</i>	for Old age	<i>an Infirmperson</i>
130 <i>Van haraya</i>	<i>Prachidam</i>	for the Commencement of a Contest	<i>a Foresighter</i>
131 <i>Alsharaj ja</i>	<i>Kitava n</i>	for the Chief of the Dice	<i>a Gambler</i>
132 <i>A t ja</i>	<i>Id aradashan</i>	for the I rava (the first Yuga that of <i>fa lte</i> deeds)	<i>a Inspector of Deeds</i>
133 <i>T t jan</i>	<i>T alp nam</i>	for the Treta (Yuga)	<i>a Trickster</i>
134 <i>Dr p t ja</i>	<i>Adl halpinam</i>	for the D Ápar Yuga	<i>a Arch trickster</i>
135 <i>A skanddyas</i>	<i>babhlestha un</i>	for the Askanda (the E il Yuga)	<i>a Lo aiger un-meet</i>
136 <i>Mr t jave</i>	<i>Gor jackham</i>	for Death	<i>an Attendant-on-cows</i>
137 <i>intal ja</i>	<i>GogI tam</i>	for the Agent of Death	<i>a Cow killer</i>
138 <i>Du Ak t ja</i>	<i>Uvarak charyam</i>	for Wickedness	<i>a Charakachdrya</i>

111 is the first one of the 111 literature of the Five Ages of the world. The last of them is the tenth 4th *da lli* the third Kand of the Tithirya Brahman of the Bhaskari *u v k* (in the MS fol 41) named *ti ka* the last of which is the

† *Ma lla ra* *ter t i* Guru of the Char kars, who belonged to Shákha of the

139 <i>Papmān</i>	<i>Saslagana</i> ,	for Depravity	a Follower of his own Inclinations
140 <i>Pratuhruṇyā</i>	<i>Arianam</i>	for Silent-listening	a Sufferer
141 <i>Ghoṣhaya</i>	<i>Bhāṣham</i>	for Noise	a Speaker
142 <i>Antaya</i>	<i>Bahuviddanam</i>	for the End of Life	a Much-speaker
143 <i>Anantida</i>	<i>Mikam</i>	.. for Infinity	a Dumb person
144 <i>Shabbda</i>	<i>Adambaramghāṭam</i>	for Sound	a Beater of drums
145 <i>Mahāsē</i>	<i>Vinduddan</i>	for a Festival (season of worship)	a Player on the <i>Vad</i>
146 <i>Kroshaya</i>	<i>Tiṣṇavādham</i>	for Weeping	a Blower-of the-Tuna
147 <i>Avaraśpadya</i>	<i>Shankhadham</i>	for Procession	.. a Blower of the Conch
148 <i>Vandyā</i>	<i>Vanapam</i>	for the Forest,	a Forester
149 <i>Angatoranyādya</i>	<i>Dīvapam</i> ,	for an Unpassable-Forest	a Burner
150 <i>Agnayē</i>	<i>Pitānam</i>	.. for Fire	a Waterman
151 <i>Prithivya</i>	<i>Pitārarpinam</i>	.. for the Earth,	a Lame-person (one who creeps or moves along on a seat)
152 <i>Vāyavē</i>	<i>Chandram</i>	for the Wind	a <i>Chādala</i> .
153 <i>Antarikshaya</i>	<i>Vaṅghānartinam</i> , ..	for the Firmament (Middle-of the Sky)	a Pole-dancer
154 <i>Dvē</i>	<i>Khalatīm</i>	for the Heaven	a Bald-headed man
155 <i>Suryaya</i>	<i>Ha yakshem</i> ,	for the Sun	.. a Man with greenish eyes
156 <i>Nakshatrébhyaḥ</i>	<i>Kṛmīram</i>	for the Constellations,	a Man of variegated colour
157 <i>Chandramāse</i>	<i>Kīḍam</i>	for the Moon	a Man-with-scabs
58 <i>Anhē</i>	<i>Shuklam Pingdāsham</i>	for the Day	.. a Reddish eyed person
159 <i>Ratrayāt</i>	<i>Krishnam Pingdāsham</i>	for Night	a Dark red-eyed person.

Such is the thirtieth *adhyāya* of the *Yajur Veda*, in a complete form. Though found in the *Śāṅkhita* of that *Veda* it clearly belongs to the period of the *Brahmana*—from 800-600 B C,—when the liturgical arrangements of the *Aryas* assumed their definite form. It throws much light on the state of Indian Society at the time to which it belongs. It mentions various distinctive classes in the community. Some of these are viewed in their moral aspect, as those of the thief, the murderer

the drunkard, the paramour, the adulteress, the licentious woman, the liberator the thievish-hearted one, the backbiter, the virtuous man, the slothful man and the man that-follows-his-own inclinations Some of them are noticed in connexion with natural deformities, deficiencies, infirmities, and diseases, as those of the madman, the blind-person, the hunchback, the dwarf the deaf-person the bear eyed person, the leper, the infirm person the sufferer, the baldheaded-man, the person-with-scabs the person-who creeps (who is lame?) Some of them are mentioned in connexion with their personal and family peculiarities, as the eunuch the son-of-an unmarried girl, the married-elder brother, the barren woman the bearer of-twins, the woman-without offspring the woman-who-has not born-a child, the woman in her courses, the old woman the man with greenish-eyes the man with-variegated eyes, the man-with-reddish eyes and the man-with-red-eyes Some of them are introduced in connexion with their employments and social relations, as the actor the attendant-on-the-synagogue, the orator, the artist the chariotmaker the carpenter, the blacksmith the jeweller, the sower the maker-of-arrows the maker-of bows the maker-of-bowstrings the ropemaker, the huntsman the dogman, the player-at-dice the non-player-at-dice the female basketmaker, the woman-who-makes-pins (of thorns ?), the companion, the follower, the observer the physician the astronomer the catechist, the interrogator, the elephant-keeper the horse keeper, the cowherd, the shepherd, the goatherd the cultivator, the spirit-dealer, the house-keeper, the holder-of-wealth (money-lender ?), the runner-after-a-chariot, the wood-

man, the fire-kindler, the anointer, the server of meals, the figure maker, the moulder, the sprinkler (with perfumes?), the washerwoman the dyer-of clothes the lictor (or doorkeeper), the sub-lictor, the body-attendant the tax-collector, the ferryman the joiner, the waiter, the applier of-unguents-to-the eyes the scabbard-maker the female knower-of-sequence (the soothsayer?), the skin-dresser the dealer-in-skins the fisherman the hunter, the fish-dealer, the deer-killer the leaf-seller the (boat)-binder the goldsmith the vender or merchant, the (hired) mourner, the watchman, the public-crier, the foreslasher (in battle) the gambler the viewer-of-the-early-sun (in worship), the fabricator the arch-fabricator the attendant-on-cows, the cow-killer, the priest-of-the-Charakas, the speaker (of nonsense), the copious-speaker, the drum-beater the player on-the-Vina(lute) the blower-of-the-tuna (bagpipes) the blower of the conch, the forester the forest-burner, the waterman, the pole-dancer Some are noticed who, it may be supposed, had a definite status of office or rank in the community, as the Brahman, the Rajanya the Vaishya, the Shudra, the Suta, the Vratya And some are mentioned as belonging to tribes receiving their denominations principally from the countries to which they belonged, as the Ayogava, the Magadha, the Taskara the Naishada, the Dasha (Dasyu) the Kaivarta, the Baimda (of Vind) the Mainal, the Kirata, the Jambhaka, the Kimpurusha, the Pulkasa (or Pulkasa), and the Chandala. All this testifies to the multifariousness of rank and division of labour in the Indian community

Many of the classes of men here mentioned wereulti

mately recognized as forming distinctive Castes, as will appear from their designations when compared with the list of castes which we have already inserted * In the passage which, we have just quoted, however, there is no decided proof of anything like a complete establishment of the caste-system at the time to which it belongs The *Brāhmaṇa*, doubtless had his claims to superiority from his office of conversancy with the *Brahma*, now probably generally hereditary The prince is the representative of the *Kshatra*, or power Tillage is in the hands of the *Vaishya* who it is to be noticed, is distinct from the *Vāni*, or merchant The symbolical representative of toil is the *Shūdra* The numerous parties engaged in distinctive occupations are certainly not mentioned in any order of rank or even of fixed profession There is here no fabulous reference to any parties born of a conventional or adulterous mixture of Caste If the Caste system did at this time exist to any extent, it was far from being matured Most of the classes mentioned without such patronymics as we find in the case of the Magadhas and Chandalas we have reason to believe were Aryas or related to the Aryas It is to be particularly observed that no exterior tribes are mentioned which have been recognized geographically as having their locations south of the Vindhya mountains This range, up to the period of the composition of this *Adhyāya* had probably not been crossed by the Aryas

The *Purusha Sukta*, which we have already quoted from the *Rig Veda*,† follows this *Adhyāya* in the *White Yajur Veda* Little light is cast on its mysterious sym-

* See above pp 65-70

† See above, pp 118 119

bolism by the commentator Mahidhara. Without compunction, and without any attention to the literal meaning of his text, he derives the Bráhman *from* the mouth of Prajapati, the Kshatriya *from* his arms, and the Vaishya *from* his thighs. The Indian mind had undergone a great deterioration when it turned poetical figures into literal facts, when it turned the simple and natural though physiognomous, poetry of the Vedas into legendry, and when it multiplied and magnified the legends to enormities and absurdities of the most grotesque and monstrous character.

This deterioration of the Indian mind is particularly apparent in the *Atharva*, or fourth *Veda*, to which, in connexion with the subject before us, we now turn our attention. As already mentioned the word *Atharva* corresponds with the Zand *Athrava*, etymologically a fire man.* It occurs in the *Rig Veda* as the name of a particular Rishi or sage, from the constituents of whose school, or course in after times it probably received its designation. It differs very considerably in its authority and character from the other Vedas, which, more than it are particularly associated with sacrifice. As there are three different branches of the ceremonial the *Veda* is, for the better performance of the sacrifices, divided into three the *Rig-Veda*, *Yajur-Veda* and *Sama-Veda*. The ceremonial of the Hotri priests is performed with the *Rig-Veda*, that of the Adhvaryu priests, with the *Yajur-Veda*, that of the Udgátri priests with the *Sáma-Veda*. The duties of the Brahman priests, and of him for whom the sacrifice is offered, are also contained in these three *Védas*. The *Atharva-Veda* is not used for solemn sacri-

* See above p. 91

fices, and is very different from the others, as it teaches only expiatory preservative, or imprecatory rites. This sensible opinion of Madhusudan Sarasvati, quoted by Dr Muller,* has been confirmed by the research of European and American orientalists. "The Atharvana, says Professor Whitney (with Dr R. Roth, the joint editor of its Text †) "is like the Rig, a historical general, and not a liturgical collection. Its first eighteen books, of which alone it was originally composed are arranged upon a like system throughout the length of the hymns and not either their subject or their alleged authorship, being the guiding principle those of about the same number of verses are combined together into books and the books made up of the shorter hymns stand first in order. A sixth of the mass, however is not metrical, but consists of longer or shorter prose pieces, nearly akin in point of language and style to passages of the Brahmanas. Of the remainder, or metrical portion, about one-sixth is also found among the hymns of the Rig, and mostly in the tenth book of the latter the rest is peculiar to the Atharva. The greater portion of them are plainly shown both by their language and internal character to be of much later date than the general contents of the other historic Véda (the Rig Veda), and even than its tenth book, with which they stand nearly connected in import and origin.

The most prominent characteristic feature of the Atharvana is the multitude of incantations which it con-

History of Sanskrit Literature p 122 For Madhusudan's compleat view of the Orthodox Brahmanical Literature see Weber's Indisch Studien 1 p 120

† In the work, as edited by them there are 10,296 lines

tains, these are pronounced either by the person who is himself to be benefited or more often, by the sojourner for him and are directed to the procuring of the greatest variety of desirable ends most frequently, perhaps long life, or recovery from grievous sickness, is the object sought there a talisman, such as a necklace, is sometimes given or in very numerous cases some plant endowed with marvellous virtues is to be the immediate external means of cure, further the attainment of wealth or power is aimed at, the downfall of enemies, success in love or in play, the removal of petty pests, and so on, even down to the growth of hair on a bald pate * 'The origin of the Atharva Sanhita says Professor Weber

falls within the period when Brahmanism had become dominant Many of the hymns which it contains are to be found also in the Rik-Sanhita † but there they are recent interpolations originating in the period when its compilation took place, while in the Atharva collection they are the just and proper expression of the present The spirit of the two collections is entirely different. In the Rik there breathes a lively natural feeling, a warm love for nature, while in the Atharva, on the contrary, there predominates an anxious apprehension of evil spirits and their magical powers in the Rik we see the people in the exercise of perfect freedom and voluntary activity, while in the Atharva we observe them bound in the fetters of the hierarchy and superstition ‡ The very

* Journ of the American Or Soc iv 254 5, 308

† [Less proportionally of the material of the Atharva Veda is from the Rig Veda than that of the Sama and Yajus.]

‡ Hist of Ind Lit quoted in Muir's Texts, II p 202

name of the Atharva Véda, derived from a particular class of priests shows that originally it had somewhat of a sectarian character According to the original distribution of the sacrificial offices among the four classes of priests, the supervision of the whole sacrifice, and the remedying of any mistake that might have happened belonged to the Brahman He had to know the three Vedas, to follow in his mind the whole sacrifice, and to advise the other priests on all doubtful points If it was the office of the Brahman to remedy mistakes in the performance of the sacrifice and if for that purpose, the formulas of the Atharvangiras were considered of special efficacy, it follows that it was chiefly the Brahman who had to acquire a knowledge of these formulas Now the office of the Bráhman was contested by the other classes of priests The Bahvrichas maintain that the office of Brahman should be held by a Bahvricha (Hotri), the Adhvaryas maintain that it belongs to one of their own body, and the Chhandogas also preferred similar claims It was evidently the most important office, and in many instances though not always, it was held by the Purohita, the hereditary family priest Certain families also claimed a peculiar fitness for the office of Brahman, such as the Vasishthas and Vishvamitras Because a knowledge of the songs of the Atharvangiras was most important to the Brahman or Purohita these songs themselves, when once admitted to the rank of a Veda were called the Véda of the Brahman or the Brahma Véda ”

* Muller's History of Sanskrit Literature, pp. 447 8

Dr M adds, however, ‘ It is a common mistake in later writers to place the Atharva Veda co ordinate with the other Vedas

That the Atharva Veda should magnify the Indian priesthood, and especially the Brahman as distinguished from the Hotṛi, Adhvarvū etc., is but natural on the ground here stated. We now refer to the general information bearing on our inquiries which it contains.

Both the Brāhmans and the Kshatra are represented in it as engaged in extolling Agni * In behalf of a *Rāja* the prayer is offered up that he may be the only lord of his country and that he may be praised by the *Visha* (here his subjects in general) throughout his realm † The *Kshatra*, *Rathakaru* *Karmara* and the *Grāmāni* and *Suta* established in the service ‡ of a Rāja are mentioned as associated together § A *Purohita* (family priest) prays that the bravery and power of the Kshatra whom he represents may be undecaying || Of the Brāman it is said, “ The *Brahman* was the first born with ten heads (and) ten faces (that is, probably with extraordinary capacities), he was the first that drank the Soma, he made poison a (harmless) juice. ¶ The *Shudra* is recognized as distinct from the *Arya*,** and also the *Dasa* from the *Arya*, as in the Rīg Veda †† Vishvamitra, originally of the *royal* race, and Jamadagni, are associated with the *Brahmanic* *Vasiṣṭha* in the protection of Mītra and Varuna The supremacy of the *Brahman* is thus set forth — The *Brahman* is lord, not the *Rajanya*, nor

* Atharva Veda i 6 2 4

† Atharva Vēda iii 4 1 2

‡ *Rajakritah*

§ A V iii 5 1 7

|| A V iii 19 1 2

¶ A V iv 6 1

** तेन ह सर पस्या म्यत शुद्रमतायम् By it, (a particular medicine) I see everything whether the Shudra or the Arya A V iv 20 8

†† A V iv 32 1

the *Vaishya* * “Let not the *Rajanya*,” it is enjoined, desire to eat the inedible cow of a Bráhman, † a claim being thus put forth of a privilege for the Bráhman’s pet, afterwards extended by degrees to the bovine race in general. The Bráhman’s life, it is said, is not to be taken, and his body is to be loved like that of Agni ‡. A curious passage coaxing the departure of a certain disease called Takman (first brought to notice by Dr Roth) throws some light on the boundaries of the Indo-Aryan community and its distant neighbours “His (Takman’s) abode are the *Mújavats*, his abode the *Mahavrishas*. As soon as thou art born, O Takman, thou sojournest (?) among the *Bahlikas*. Go, Takman, to the *Mujavats*, or far way to the *Bahlikas*. Choose the female Shudra for food, and shake her. Passing by our friends (?), devour the *Mahavrishas* and the *Mújavats*. We point out to Takman these or those foreign regions. Takman along with thy brother Balasa, and with thy sister Kasiká (cough) and with thy nephew Páman depart to that foreign people. We transfer Takman as a servant and as a treasure, to the *Gandhárins*, the *Mujavats*, the *Angas* and the *Magadhas*. || An extract is given from the hymn in the Ríg-Véda in which *Vasishtha* complains of being called a *Yátudhána*.

* ब्राह्मण एव पतिनै राजन्यो न वैश्य A V v 17 9

† मा ब्राह्मणस्तु राजन्य गो विषत्सो भनाथाम् A V v 18 1

‡ A V v 18 6

|| A V v 22 5 14 The translation of this passage is from Muir’s Texts, ii 364. Mantras like this are yet repeated for the banishment of disease from India.

by *Vishvamitra** The word *Brahmacheri* seems to be used as synonymous with Bráhman, and is set forth as the first born of the Brahma or prayer, which he advances † The Purusha Sukta is given with a few variations from the form in which it appears in the Rig-Veda The text of it which applies to caste reads thus — ' The *Brahman* was his mouth, the *Rajanya* became (*abhavat*) his arms, the *Vaishya* was his middle (*madhyam*), the *Shúdra* sprung from his feet' ‡ Though, as we have already shown, little stress is to be laid on this passage, it is evident that the collection of the Atharva Veda was made when the caste system had made considerable progress

2 We now leave the Vedas and proceed to the *Brahmanas*

The *Brahmanas*, which are to be distinguished from the Mantras, or Vedic Texts derived from the *Sauhitas* or collections of the Vedic Hymns are essentially considered Liturgical and Rubrical Directories for the ceremonies to be performed by the *Brahmans*, from their connexion with whom or as comprehending the *Brahma* technically understood they derive their name Then contents, however, are really of a varied character ' The difficulty says Dr Muller, of giving an exhaustive definition of what a *Brahmana* is, has been felt by the Bráhmans themselves The name given to this class of literature does not teach us more than that these works belonged to the Bráhmans They are Brahmanic i e theological tracts comprising

* A. V. viii 4 14 16 Attention to this passage as found in the R. V., was first drawn by Dr Muller in Bunsen's Outlines of the Phil. of Univ. Hist. 1 p. 344

† A. V. xi 5 4 7

‡ A. V. 19 1 1

the knowledge most valued by the Brahmins, bearing partly on the traditions and customs of the people. They profess to teach the performance of the sacrifice, but for the greater part they are occupied with additional matter, with explanations and illustrations of things more or less distantly connected with their original faith and their ancient ceremonial.' 'There was originally but one body of Brahmanas for each of the three Vedas, for the Rig-Veda the Brahmanas of the Bahvrichas, for the Samâ-Véda the Brahmanas of the Chhândogas, and for the Yajur-Veda in its two forms the Brahmanas of the Taittiriyas, and the Shatapatha Brahmana. These works were not written in metre like the Sanhitâs, and were therefore more exposed to alteration in the course of a long continued oral tradition. We possess the Brahmana of the Bahvrichas in the Shâkkas [Memorial Stems or Schools] of the Aitareyins and the Kaushitakins' *

"The Brahmanas Dr Muller continues, 'represent no doubt a most interesting phase in the history of the Indian mind, but judged by themselves as literary productions they are more disappointing. No one would have supposed that at so early a period, and in so primitive a state of society, there could have risen up a literature, which for pedantry and downright absurdity can hardly be matched anywhere. There is no lack of striking thoughts, of bold expressions of sound reasoning, and curious traditions in these collections. But these are only like the fragments of a torso, like precious gems set in brass and lead. The general character of these works is marked by shallow and insipid grandiloquence by priestly

* History of Sanscrit Literature pp 42 316

conceit, and antiquarian pedantry. It is most important to the historian that he should know how soon the fresh and healthy growth of a nation can be blighted by priest-craft and superstition. It is most important that we should know that nations are liable to these epidemics in their youth as well as in their dotage. These works deserve to be studied as the physician studies the twaddle of idiots, and the raving of madmen. They will disclose to a thoughtful eye the ruins of faded grandeur, the memories of noble aspirations. But let us only try to translate these works into our own language, and we shall feel astonished that human language and human thought should ever have been used for such purposes" * These writings, however, are still deserving of special attention. "Though their professed object is to teach the sacrifice, they allow a much larger space to dogmatical, exegetical mystical and philosophical speculations than to the ceremonial itself. They appeal continually to older authorities †. The Brahmanas exhibit the accumulated thought of a long succession of early theologians and philosophers. But the very earliest of these sages follow a train of thought which gives clear evidence of a decaying religion ‡. "These books will always be to us the most valuable sources for tracing the beginnings of thought on divine things, and, at the same time sources from which we may draw the most valued information regarding the conceptions on which the entire system of worship as well as the social and hierarchical order of India are founded §.

* History of Sanscrit Literature, pp 389 390

† Ib p 328

‡ Ib pp 429

§ Dr Roth's Introduction to the Nirukta, quoted in Muir's Texts p 193

At the time of the composition of the Brahmanas, which may be stated as extending from 800 to 600 B C, the collection of the three olden Védas was doubtless formed. The following passage from the *Aitareya Bráhmaṇa*, which is worthy of notice in several particulars, establishes this fact, as far as that work at least is concerned—“Prajapati desired that for the being of Praja (offspring) there should be done (what was required). He, setting a toilng performed *tapa* (toil). After performing *tapa*, he created these Worlds—the Earth, the Medial Expanse (*antariksha*), (and) Heaven (*Díva*). Having performed *tapa* for these worlds, he again performed *tapa*, and the three Lights were produced—Fire (Agni) from earth, Wind (Vayu) from the expanse, and the Sun (Aditya) from the heaven. Having performed *tapa* for these lights, he again performed *tapa*, and the three Védas were produced—the Rig Veda sprung from fire, the Yajur-Veda, from wind, and the Sama-Veda from the sun. Having performed *tapa* for these Védas, he again performed *tapa* and the three *Shukras* were produced. *Bhu* was made from the Rig-Véda, *Bhúma* from the Yajur-Veda, and *Sra* from the Sama Véda. Having performed *tapa* for these Shukras, he again performed *tapa* (and) the three *Varnas* were made—akar, ukar, makar. From the combination of these (OM, quasi *Aum*) was produced * The

* As this is one of the earliest accounts of Creation according to Hindu notions, we may give the Sanskrit of this passage—*प्रजापतिरकामयत् प्रजायेयभूयात्स्यामिति स तपोत्पत्तत् सत्त्वस्त्वम् यात्रोकामसत्त्वम् पञ्चमवरिष्ठ दिवंतान्त्येकान्त्यवप्त्वेभ्योमित्रप्तेभ्यस्त्रीण एतेतीर्थायांतामिरेतपुभ्यम्*

collections of the Védas are here distinctively mentioned, though a very different origin is attributed to these works from my mentioned by the Rishis themselves, the veritable composers of the Védic Hymns, who indite from their own mental impulse, or ask the assistance of the gods in their laudatory and supplicatory compositions. The triliteral, and afterwards mystical, syllable AUM, OM, seems here derived from the initial letters—*a* of *Agni*, *u* (the vocal representative of *v*) of *Váyu*, and *m* of *Mitha* (the mudday sun, the equivalent of Aditya). Of the *Shukrás*, with OM prefixed to the *Gayatrí* verse of the *Rig-Véda* (3 asht 10th *vaig*) *bhu* means earth, *bhuva* sky, and *sua*, heaven. All this technical trifling (and it was afterwards greatly extended) betokens degeneration.

The Bráhmans, as a pre-eminent class are particularly brought to notice, in the *Aitareya Bráhmaṇa*, the principal notices of which bearing on Caste we shall now introduce.

In the first chapter of the first *Panchika* of this work the following passages occur in connexion with the *Dikshá*, or sacrifice of the new bath, when a man is admitted for the first time to the use of sacrifice — 'He who wishes for beauty and for wisdom (*brahmaarchasa*), let him use

भिन्नत्वेभ्य स्तीणो शुक्राण्यजायत भूरित्येष ऋग्वेदात् अज्ञायत भुवद्विति यजुर्वेदात् स्तरिति
सामवेदात् तानिश्चशुक्राण्यभूतपत्तेभ्योमित्येष्य स्त्रयोवर्णा अज्ञायत अकार चक्षारो वक्ता
इती तानेकधा समभरत्सदेतदेविति Ait. Brah. V 5 Author's MS
No 1 fol 61, No 2 fol 148 The first of these MSS. is a trophy of peace from a converted Brahman the second a trophy of war, with other Vedic works part of the plunder of the Bombay troops at the late affairs of Béti and Dáráká presented to me by my friend Dr John Grant Nicolson

the two Gáyatrí verses of the Sviṣṭakṛit. The Gáyatrí is beauty, full of wisdom. He who knowing this uses the two Gáyatríś becomes possessed of beauty and wisdom. Let him who desires strength, use the two Tríṣṭubhs. Tríṣṭubh is strength, which is vigour and power. He who knowing this uses (the) two Tríṣṭubhs, becomes strong, vigorous and powerful. Let him who desires cattle, use (the) two Jagatīs. Cattle is Jagatī like. He who knowing this uses the two Jagatīs becomes rich in cattle."* In the fifth chapter of the same section, the *Brahman* is commanded to use the Gáyatrí for wisdom and glory, the *Rajanya*, the Tríṣṭubh, for splendour and bravery, and the *Vaishya* the Jagatī, for the obtainment of cattle. The characteristics of the three classes of the Aryas are here, for the first time, distinctively recognized. †

In the second section of the Brahmana now referred to, † a party denominated Kavasha Ailusha, is represented as expelled from the sacrifice as a *Dasyaputra*, and re-admitted only by the special favour of the gods, although certain hymns in the Rig-Véda are ascribed to him as their Rishi in the *Anukramanika* (or Index) of that Veda. The name *Kavasha* appears to me to be Iranian, and is similar to one found among the Pársis of the present day. §

* This chapter of the Bráhmaṇa is translated by Dr Max Müller (from whom I borrow these sentences) with his usual life and elegance, in his History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature pp. 390 405

† Author's MS. No. 1 fol. 9, of Panchiká. Several other similar passages occur in this Brahmana.

‡ Ait Bráhmaṇa, ii. 19

§ In Kavas (ji) The Zand name is *Kava uç*. This in Sanskrit (in the adjective form) as shown by Dr Roth (Zeit. D. M. G. ii p. 226 7) is *Kavya Ushash*

The probability is that when the Hymns of Kavasha were composed, no exception was taken against them because of his race, the caste-system having not been then fully developed, while in the age of the Bráhmana, it was thought expedient to invent a legend, or fiction, to support that system

In the third Panchika, the Bráhman is spoken of as standing in the relationship of Brihaspati, the Puichita of the gods *

In the seventh Panchika, there is an important passage which is thus noticed by Dr Muller—"We find several instances where priests if once employed by a royal family, claim to be employed always. When Janamejaya Pankshita ventured to perform a sacrifice without the Kashyapas, he was forced by the Asitamigas, a family of the Kashyapas to employ them again. When Vishvántara Saushadmana drove away the Shyaparnas from his sacrifice, he was prevailed upon by Rama Margavéya to call them back" † All this shows that the priestly office was of great importance in the ancient times of India.

In the seventh panchika and seventh chapter of this Aitareya Brahmana, there is a remarkable legend connect-

* Aitareya Br. III. 2 17

† Ait Br. VII. 5 27 "Margaveya, says Dr Muller, (Hist. of S. Lit. p. 487) "is a difficult name. It may be simply, as Sáyana says the son of his mother Mrigá but Mrigú may be a variety of Bhrigu, and thus confirm Lassen's conjecture that this Ráma is Ráma, the son of Jamadagni, of the race of Bhrigu, commonly called Parashuráma. Cf. Weber Ind. Stud. I. 216 In this espousement of the cause of these Purohitas we perhaps see the origin of the exaggerated legends of the destruction of the Kshatrujas by Parashurama.

ed with Harishchandra, the son of Vedhas of the Royal family of Ikshvaku, which, although of a very wild character, throws a good deal of light on the state of ancient Aryan society. It has been noticed of late years by several orientalists, and has long been effectively applied by myself in my intercourse with the Brahmins in illustration of the gradual growth of caste feeling in India. While referring to it, both as found in the original and as quoted and translated by Dr. Max Muller, we would note what connected with it appears to bear on this development of caste. Harishchandra, though he had a hundred wives, had no son. On the advantages of a son having been propounded to him in ten verses by Nārada (a sage often brought to notice in Indian dialogues)* he applied, as directed, to Varuna for one, promising if his wishes were realized to sacrifice him to that deity. A son was born to him called Rohita. With varying pretences assented to by Varuna, he got repeated postponements of the engagement till the son was ten days old till his first set of teeth came, till these teeth fell out, till he got new teeth, and till as a *Kshatriya* he was girt with armour. When the father at length consented to fulfill his promise, the son took his bow, went to the forest, and lived there for a year, when, on his father having been afflicted with dropsy by Varuna he returned to the village. Indra, in the form of a *Brāhmaṇa*, having advised him again to wander about in the forest, he did this for a second, a third, a fourth, a fifth, and a sixth year on the repeated advice of this God.

* In stating the advantages of a son, a daughter is declared to be an object of pity—कुप्त इ दुष्कृता

following his annual visits to the village * When he was travelling in the sixth year, "He met in the forest a starving Rishi, Ajigarta, the son of Suyavasa. He had three sons—Shunahpuccha, Shunahshepha and Shunolangula. Rohita said to him 'Rishi I give you a hundred cows, I ransom myself with one of those thy sons' The Father embraced the elder, and said, 'Not him "Nor him," said the mother embracing the youngest And the parents bargained to give Shunahshepha the middle son Rohita gave a hundred, took him and went from the forest to the village. And he came to his father and said "Father, Death! I ransom myself by him The father went to Varuna, and said, "I shall sacrifice this man to you" Varuna said, "Yes, for a Brâhman is better than a Kshatriyâ" And he told him to perform a Râjasuya sacrifice † Harishchandra took him to be the victim for the day, when the Soma is spent to the gods Vishvamitra [a *Kshatriya* who it is said by his knowledge and practice forced himself into the acknowledged profession of the Brâhmanhood‡] was his *Hotri*-priest, Jamadagni, his *Adhvaryu* priest, Vasishtha [a *Brahman* with whom Vishvamitra had oft contend-

* On the fifth occasion Indra uses this argument — A man who is asleep is like the *Kali* (age) a man who is awake is like the *Dvapara* a man who is arisen is the *Tretâ*, a man who is travelling is like the *Krita* Travel! Travel!" Dr Müller correctly says, ' This is one of the earliest allusions to the four ages of the world Two others we have already noticed See above p 131

† A great monarchical sacrifice, at which in addition to the religious services, the chieftains assembled to express their fealty

‡ See before, p 104

ed], the *Brahmā*,* *Ayasya*, the *Udgatrī* priest. When Shunahshepha had been prepared, they found nobody to bind him to the sacrificial post. And Ajigarta, the son of Suyavasa said, 'Give me another hundred and I shall bind him. They gave him another hundred, and he bound him. And Ajigarta, the son of Suyavasa, said 'Give me another hundred, and I shall kill him. They gave him another hundred, and he came whetting his sword. Then Shunahshepha thought 'They will readily kill me, as if I was not a man. Death! I shall pray to the gods. He addressed himself first to Prajapati, who referred him to Agni, who referred him to Savitri, who referred him to Varuna, who referred him to Agni, who referred him to the Vishve Devāh, who referred him to Indra, who referred him to the Ashvīnau (two Ashvins,) who said to him, "Praise Ushas (the Dawn), and we set thee free. Thus he praised Ushas with three verses. While each verse was delivered his fetters were loosed, and Harischandra's belly grew smaller, and when the last verse was said his fetters were loosed, and Harischandra well again. With this result the priests were so well satisfied that they were content to act for the day under the direction of Shunahshepha. He invented the ceremony called the *Anjaliṣava*. Afterwards he carried out all the things belonging to the *Avabritha* ceremony, employing two verses and made Harischandra go to the *Ashavaniya* fire with another hymn." What followed requires particular attention. "When the sacrifice had thus

* Dr Muller renders this by the equivalent *Brahman*, which word, unless when otherwise used in the Sanskrit authorities, it may be proper to reserve for the designation of the caste so called.

been performed Shunahshepha sat down on the lap of Vishvamitra [in furtherance of his adoption as his son]. Ajigarta, the son of Súyavasa said Rishi, give me back my son. Vishvamitra said, 'No, for the gods have given him to me He became Devarata (Theodotus) the son of Vishvamitra, and the members of the families of Kapila and Babbhu became his relations Ajigarta the son of Súyavasa, said 'Come thou, O son, we, both and thy mother call thee away' Ajigarta, the son of Suyavasa, said 'Thou art by birth an Angirasa, the son of Ajigarta, celebrated as a poet O Rishi, go not away from the line of thy grandfather, come back to me Shunahshepha replied, 'They have seen thee with a knife in thy hand, a thing that men have never found even amongst *Shúdras*, thou hast taken three hundred cows for me, O Angiras' Ajigarta, the son of Suyavasa said 'My old son it grieves me for the wrong that I have done, I throw it away, may these hundred cows belong to thee Shunahshépha replied Who once commits a sin will commit also another sin, thou wilt not abstain from the ways of Shudras what thou hast committed cannot be redressed "Cannot be redressed," Vishvamitra repeated "Dreadful stood the son of Súyavasa when he went to kill with his knife. Be not his son, come and be my son" Shunahshepha said 'Tell us thyself, O son of a king, thus as thou art known to us, how I who am an *A'ngirasa*, shall become thy son' Vishvamitra replied 'Thou shalt be the eldest of my sons, thy offspring shall be the first, thou shalt receive the heritage which the gods have given me, thus I address thee Shunahshepha replied 'May the leader of the Bharatis say so in the presence of his

agreeing sons for friendship's and happiness's sake, that I shall become thy son' Then Vishvamitra addressed his sons 'Hear me, Madhuchhandas, Rishabha, Rénu, Ashtaka, and all ye brothers that you are, believe in seniority' Thus Vishvámitra had a hundred sons, fifty older than Madhuchhandas, and fifty younger The elder did not like this, and Vishvámitra pronounced a curse upon them, that they should become outcastes They became *Andhras*, *Pundras*, *Shabaras*, *Pulindas*, *Mutibas* and many other outcaste tribes so that the descendants of Vishvámitra became the worst of the *Dasjus* But Madhuchhandas, together with the other-fifty sons, said 'What our father tells us in that we abide, we place thee before us and follow thee' When Vishvámitra heard this, he praised his sons and said 'You sons will have good children and cattle, because you have accepted my will and have made me rich in brave sons You, descendants of Gathin,* are to be honoured by all, you brave sons, led by Devarata, he will be to you good counsel You, descendants of Kusika follow Devarata, he is your hero he will give you my riches, and whatever knowledge I possess You are wise, all

* Purúras

Jahnu

× Gathin Kausíki (Bhrigus)

Vishvamitra

Satyavati ×

Richika (Ikshvakus)

Jainadagni × Renuká

Parashurama.

ye sons of Vishvamitra together, you are rich, you stood to uphold Devaráta, and to make him your eldest descendants of Gáthín Devaráta* (Shunahshepha) is mentioned as a Rishi of both families, in the chiefdom of the Jahnus and in the divine Veda of the Gathins" †

* This last verse which is also attributed to Vishvámítia, ought to be taken rather as a recapitulation of the whole story. Jahnú is one of the ancestors of Vishvamitra belonging to the lunar Dynasty, Gáthín is considered as Vishvamítia's father. The commentator gives Jahnú as a Rishi of the family of Ajigarta, which seems better to agree with the Vedic story.

† Muller's History of S. L. p. 408 419

The legend or story of Shunahshepha as here given in the *Aitareya Brahmana* has been changed to a considerable extent in later Indian works as has been summarily noticed by Professor H. H. Wilson (Rig Veda, 1 pp 59 60) The story of *Shunahshepas* or as usually written, *Shunahshephas* has been for some time known to Sanskrit students through the version of it presented in *Íámáyana*, b 1 ch 61 Schlegel 63 Gorresio. He is there called the son of the Rishi Richika and is sold for a hundred cows by his father to *Ambarisha* king of *Ayodhyá* as a victim for a human sacrifice on the road he comes to the lake *Pushkara* where he sees *Vishvamitra*, and implores his succour and learns from him a prayer by the repetition of which at the stake *Indra* is induced to come and set him free. It is obvious that this story has been derived from the *Veda* for *Vishvamitra* teaches him, according to Schlegel's text two *Guthas*, according to Gorresio's a *mantra* but the latter also states that he propitiated *Indra* by *Richas*, *mantras* of the *Rig Veda* (*Rigbhús tushtava devendram*) vol 1 p 249. *Manu* also alludes to the story (10 103) where it is said that *Ajigarta* incurred no guilt by giving up his son to be sacrificed as it was to preserve himself and family from perishing with hunger. The *Bhágavat* follows the *Aitareya* and *Manu* in terming *Shunahshepas* the son of *Ajigarta* and names the *Raja* also *Harischandra*. In the *Vishnu Purana*, he is called the son of *Vishvamitra* and is termed also *Devaráta*, or god given but this relates to subsequent occurrences noticed in like manner by the other authorities, in which he becomes the

The pre-eminence of the Bráhman to the Kshatriya is here set forth by the alleged greater acceptability to the gods as a sacrifice of a *Bráhman* than a *Kshatriya*, and by the adoption of the Bráhman (said to have been set apart for sacrifice) by Vishvámitra. A Bráhmanical disparagement of Vishvámitra and his consociates is also intended by the absurd allegation that the aboriginal tribes of the *Andhras*, *Pundras*, *Shabaras*, *Pulindas* and *Mutibas* were descended from them*. These tribes belonging principally to the South of India appear from the notice taken of them to have been known to the Aryas at the time of the composition of the Aitaréya Brahmana, while they were not as yet gained over to Brahmanism. The *Andhras* were the inhabitants of the province which was afterwards denominated Telingána,† the *Pundras* are supposed to have occupied the Western Provinces of Bengal,‡ the *Shabaras* are placed by Ptolemy near the (mouths of the) Ganges § and the *Pulindas* are located by Ptolemy along the banks of the Narmada to the frontiers of Larice, but in the Indian literature they occur in different positions from the Indus to the South ||

adopted son of *Vishvamitra*, and the eldest of all his sons such of whom as refused to acknowledge his seniority being cursed to become the founders of various barbarian and outcaste races *Vishvamitra's* share in the legend may possibly intimate his opposition and that of some of his disciples, to human sacrifices

* Compare this with Manu pp 43-45 See above pp 59-60

§ Ptol Geo vnu Ed Berth p 203

¶ Ptol Geo vii Ed Beith p 203 See also Mahabharata
Bhishma Parva, adh 6 Cil Lal n p 342 344

The relations of the Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shudra to sacrifice (*yajna*) and to one another in a religious point of view, are mentioned with particularity towards the conclusion of the seventh panchika of the *Aitareya Brahmana*. "Prajapati," it is there said, "created sacrifice. After the sacrifice was created, the *Brahma* and the *Kshatra* were created. To both the *Brahma* and the *Kshatra* offsprings were created—(called) *hutād* and *ahutād**. That which was from the *Brahma* was called *hutād*, and that which was from the *Kshatra* was called *ahutād*. The *Brahman* was the *hutād* offspring, and the *Rājanya*, the *Vaishya*, and the *Shūdra* belonged to the *ahutād*. By them the sacrifice began to be conducted. The *Brahma* and *Kshatra* came with their instruments. The *Brahman* came with the instruments of the *Brahma*, and the *Kshatriya* came with the sacrificial instruments of the *Kshatra*. The instruments of the *Brahma* were the instruments of the sacrifice, and the instruments of the *Kshatra* were the horse, a chariot, the coat of mail, the arrow and the bow. The *Kshatriya* was not permitted to enter, and seeing that he could not find entrance he returned. The *Brahmans* stood to oppose the entrance of others. The *Brahmans* came with their instruments. Therefore the sacrifice is established in the *Brahmans*. Afterwards the *Kshatriyas* came, and asked to be called for the sacrifice. Then the *Brahmans* said to them 'If you wish to come to the sacrifice, you must put aside your own instruments, and become like *Brahmans*, (*brahmanorupéna*) and then

* *Hutād* (from *huta* and *ad*) means having the legal capacity of eating what is offered in sacrifice, and *ahutād*, not having this capacity.

come to the sacrifice The Kshatriyas said, 'Be it so After putting aside their own instruments and taking the instruments of the Brahma they became like Brahmans, and entered the sacrifice ' * The progress of the professions and pretensions of the professional priesthood, and their ultimate establishment of their peculiar privileges are evident from this passage The Bráhmans, it teaches, were acting in their own peculiar character when they conducted sacrifice while the Kshatriyas when they sacrificed had to lay aside their own recognized character and its emblems and assume that of the Brahmans The sacrifice is established in the Brahmans ; and, with the enlargement and complication of its ritual, the Bráhman is more necessary than ever Sacrifice is the highest interest (the first created object) of the community, and the Bráhman the sacrificer is the head of the community He has merely to throw difficulties in the way of the Kshatriya's sacrificing, to secure for himself all that his heart can desire Let a Kshatriya, when he becomes a *yajamána* (the institutor of a sacrifice) employ a Bráhman Let the Bráhman give his blessing to the Kshatriya †

This is accompanied, in the Aitareya Brahmana, with notices of the manner in which the Bráhman is to conduct the highest rites in behalf of a king at, and after, the ceremonies of his inauguration But on this matter we may be content with some of the notices taken of it by

* Aitareya Brahman of R. V. vii 14 19

† यज्ञो ब्राह्मण्येव ब्राह्मणेषु प्रतिष्ठिनो

‡ In illustration of these two last remarks, see Ait. Bráh. viii 28 4

the learned and accurate Dr Goldstucker. In connexion with the *Punarabhisheka*, the King is made to say, “ ‘ I firmly stand on heaven and earth I firmly stand on exhaled and inhaled air, I firmly stand on food and drink, on what is Brahman, on what is Kshatriya on these three worlds stand I firmly. He then descends, sits down on the ground with his face towards the East, utters thrice the words Adoration to what is Brahmana, and offers a gift to a Brahman, the object of this gift is the obtainment of victory in general of victory everywhere of victory over strong and weak enemies and of complete victory, and his threefold expression of adoration to what is a Brahman implies that a kingdom prospers, and has valiant men when it is under the controul of the Brahmins, and that a valiant son will be born to him. ‘ A king for whom these (certain prescribed) libations are made to Indra in the indicated manner becomes free from disease, cannot be injured by enemies, is exempt from poverty, everywhere protected against danger and thus becomes victorious in all quarters and after death established in Indra’s heaven.’ Priests who understand well how to perform the whole rite will raise the king to an exalted position, those on the contrary who are ignorant of the manner in which it is to be performed, will bring him into perdition. In connexion with the simple *abhisheka* Dr Goldstucker says, “The ceremony having been completed, the king has to make a present to the inaugurating priest, viz a thousand (Nishkas) of gold, a field and cattle, but this amount seems merely to constitute a minimum acknowledgment of the exertions of the

priest, for the text of the *Aitareya* adds that they say a king should give innumerable illimited presents, since a king is illimited (in wealth), and they will obtain illimited benefit to himself, and the author of the *Aitar Br* seems rather inclined to adopt the latter opinion, for amongst the instances he gives of royal inaugurations which have been performed in this fashion, he does not mention those at which the Bráhmans have received the ' limited gifts but tells e g that *Adamaya* the son of Atri, promised to his priests ten thousand elephants and ten thousand female slaves and gave each of the sons of that priest at the noon-oblation two thousand cows out of a thousand millions that *Anga* gave his priest eighty-thousand young white horses fit for carrying burdens on their back, etc , that Bharata distributed in Mashnara a hundred and seven thousand millions of black elephants with white tusks, and decked with gold etc etc * In all this legendry of the *Aitareya Bráhma*na of the Rig-Véda, the Brahman, it must be admitted, occupies a pretty high position

The position of the Brahman is not of an humbler character in the *Taittiríya Bráhma*na, of the Black Yajur Véda to which we now turn

In this Bráhma, the three fundamental Aryan castes are mentioned in connexion with certain distinctive privileges Indra is there represented as assuming the form of a *Bráhman* to carry off an *istíha*, or sacrificial brick for the purpose of preventing two sacrificing Rakshasas, *Kala* and *Kanj* (afterwards called the heavenly

* See Goldstucker's Dictionary San krit and English, under *Abhiseka*

hounds *Urna* and *Nabha*), from succeeding in their service and getting to heaven (*suvarga*) In connexion with the same legend or fable, it thus enjoined "The *Bráhman* ought to commence his sacrifice in the *Vasantá Ritu* (or spring season) That season belongs to the Brahman Let him sacrifice in his own season, and he becomes a *Brahmavarchas*, endowed with the knowledge of Brahma, and that season is the chief Let the *Rajanya* sacrifice in the *Grishma* (hot season) *Grishma* is the season of the *Rajanya* Let him sacrifice in *Grishma*, and he will become an *Indrayaví* (one powerful like Indra) Let the *Vaishya* sacrifice in *Shára* (the autumn) *Shára* is the season of the *Vaishya*"* "Let the *Bráhman* perform the fire sacrifice in the *Gayatrí* measure The *Gayatrí* measure is the Brahman's. Each has his own measure for the acquisition The *Trishtup* (measure) is that of the *Rajanya* the *Jagati* is that of the *Vaisya*, † A *Bráhman* householder returning home from a journey has to sacrifice in the *nakshatra* of *Rohini* ‡ The *Bráhman* is spoken of as of the class of the gods and the *Shúdra* as of that of the *Asuras*, while quarrelling about a skin, § and the Brahman gets the victory by means of a particular mantra The *Vajapeya*|| sacrifice belongs

* Taittariya Brahmana, 1 1-2 (author's MS) See also edition of in Bib. Ind p 4

† T B 1 1 9 Compare with this, p 147, above

‡ T B. 1 1 10

§ ब्राह्मणक गूदक चम्पकत आच्छाने । दैवयै ब्राह्मण अस्य गूद । Taittiriya Brahmana, 1 2 6.

|| Fermentation of bread and water Wilson's S Dictionary

both to the *Bráhman* and the *Rajanya** The *Bráhman*, endowed like the *Rishi*, has to stir up the sacrificial fire, “for the *Bráhman* is every divinity” † Higher elevation than this it is difficult to imagine.

Social distinctions are mentioned, as in a passage from the *Taittiriya Sanhita* already noticed ‡

Some of the gods are viewed individually as the lords of particular interests and classes of men Agni is the lord of food, Soma is the king of the king (*raja raja-pati*), Varuna is the emperor of the emperor, Mítra is the *kshatrapati* of the *kshatra*, § Indra is the might of the mighty, Brihaspati is the *Brahmapati* of the *Brahma*, Savitá is the *Rashtrapati* of the *Rashtra*, Puṣha is the *Vitpati* of the *Visha*, Sarasvatí is the *pushti patni* (mistress) of the *pushti*, Tvaṣhtá is the former of the pairs of beasts ||

In a remarkable chapter of this *Taittiriya Bráhmaṇa* (m. 80), the parties of the Purusha Medha are mentioned, (with variants) as in the thirtieth chapter of the White *Yajur Véda* ¶

* T B 1 8 3

† ब्राह्मण भाष्येष उक्तेष्व । ब्राह्मणोऽवै सवदेवता । Tatt. Brah. 1 4 4
Various other things are to be done by the *Bráhman* in virtue of this divine status See the context

‡ Tatt. Brah. 1 7 3 For the parties see above p 124.

§ Mitra and Varuna are thus addressed a little onwards —
यित्रोऽसि पूर्णोऽसि सप्तर्षे निश्चेदेष्वै । धन्वस्य नाभिरसि धन्वस्य योनिरासे—
“Thou art Mitra thou art Varuna, with the *Vishvá* devas, thou art the navel of the *Kshatra* thou art the vulva of the *Kshatra*. The *Brahma* is called the vulva of the *Kshatra* in T B iii fol 68

|| Tatt. Brah. 11 5-7

¶ See before pp 127-132

In religious services, the Brahman has all the prominence he can desire "If a goat be not found, then make the Homa at the right hand of the Brahman He is the Vaishvánara (of men the universal) Agni, if the Homa be made upon the Bráhman's hand, it is as if made by Agni himself * How different is the position of the Shudra ! In the sacrifice of the Ashvamedha, "The Shudra has to watch the property, so to a bastard (who is like a Shudra) there is not the privilege of the abhisheka (or ritual sprinkling) † If the Brahman at all acknowledges the splendour of the prince his own splendour is superior Wealth and rule do not remain with the Brahman, rule remains with the Kshatriya The Brahman is of the form of the day, the Kshatriya is of the form of the night Let the Brahman perform the religious services (*ashlapurta*) of the Kshatriya The Kshatriya should rule His glory is in war and battle‡ Consider these demands, and yield this homage and the Brahman has all that he can desire

In the *Shatapatha Bráhmana* of the White Yajui Veda of the Madhyandina Shakha, or Recension, the development of the Caste System is apparent, much as in the two Bráhmanas which we have just now noticed

This work attributes the Collection of the White Yajui Veda to the priest and teacher *Yámapalkya* whose alleged decision it holds to be authoritative § In a passage to which we have already referred the *Râkshasas*

* Taitt Br m. MS fol 5 :

† Taitt Br m. MS fol 101

‡ Taitt Brah MS fol 105

§ Shatapatha Bráhmana, 1 1 9 (Weber p 2) et in al loc

are said to derive their designation from their being prohibitors of sacrifice * *Vishnu* (in the Rig-Veda, the god of the brilliant firmament, or space) is, probably on account of the ascent of the sacrificial flame, called ' the sacrifice, † from which circumstance, certainly, he afterwards received his pre-eminence among the gods, though *Savitá* (the Sun) is in the context called "the generator of the gods, "‡ and *Agni* is in the Védas the god of sacrifice. Ceremonial impurity proceeding during the celebration of sacrificial rites, from (the touch of) a Carpenter (*Taksha*) or any other sacrificially impure person, is represented as removed by the sprinkling of the sacrificial water § Yet even at this time sacrifice seems, in some of its relations at least to have been available for the *Shudra*, as brought to notice in a passage which we have already quoted — 'If the sacrificer be a Brahman, it is said *Ehi, Come!* If he is a *Vaishya*, then it is *Agahi, Come hither!* With a *Rājanjabindhu* [a transposition of the *Vaishya* and *Rājanya* having occurred], it is *Adrava* Run hither! With a *Shudra* it is *adhava*, Run hither! || While the sacri-

* Ib 1 1 16

† यज्ञो वै विष्णु Shat Br 1 1 2 13

‡ सविता दे देवाना प्रसविता Ib 1 2 17

§ Shat Br 1 1 3 12 This passage forms a key to the Caste institution of *sparsha* or defilement by contact. What occurred at sacrifices, at which parties were held to be ceremonially pure or impure, was afterwards extended to what may occur in any circumstances in social life to the debasement of large classes of the community

|| Shat Br 1 1 4 11

ficial stake (*yúpa*) and rice-stirring instrument (*sphya*) are appropriate to the *Bráhman*, the chariot and arrow are appropriate to the *Rájanya** The *Bráhman* standeth forth as the arranger of sacrifice † The sprung is said to be the season of sacrifice, for the *Brahman* the summer for the *Kshatra*, and the rainy season (*varsha*) for the *Vita*.‡ Of the mystical words prefixed to the *Gayatrí*, the *Brahman* should pronounce the *bhuh*, the *Kshatra*, the *bhuvah*, and the *Visha*, the *svah* § Indra and Agni are gods of the *Kshatra*, and the Vishvedevas of the *Visha*.|| *Brihaspati* is the god of the *Bráhmans* ¶ The power of the *Kshatra* is *Varuna*.** That of the *Visha* is the Maruta (company) In the *Díkshá* or sacrifice of Initiation, the *Bráhman*, *Rájanya* and *Vaishya*, but not the *Shúdra*, may sacrifice †† The *Rájanya* and the *Vaishya* are after the *Díksha* pronounced to be sacramentally the same as the *Brahman*, sprung from sacrifice †† The *Brahman* is encouraged to desire the work of the forestander, the representative of every *Kshatriya* §§

In the *Savakánda* of this *Shatapatha Brahmana*, there is an important passage which, in connexion with the *Aranyoragni Samarohya* (the sacrificial kindling of fire by friction) brings to notice various classes of the community

* Shat Br I 2 4 2

† यज्ञस्य प्राविदार Shat Br I 5 1 12

‡ Shat Br II 1 3 5 ¶ Shat Br II 1 3 4

|| Shat Br II 4 3 6 ¶ Shat Br II 5 2 36, et. in al loc

** Shat Br V 1 1 11, et. in al loc

†† Shat Br III 1 2 10 ¶ Shat Br III 2 1 10

§§ ब्राह्मण सर्वस्येव खत्रियस्य गुरौधां कामयेत Sh Br IV 1. 4. 5

much as is done in a portion of the Black Yajur Veda to which we have already referred * The parties specified in it are the *Senani*, the general, whose representative god, in the offering of the prepared rice, is said to be Agni, the *Purohita*, or family priest, whose god is Brihaspati, the “Purohita of the gods, the *Kshatra* whose god is Indra, the *Mahishi*, “the chief wife of an anointed king according to Sayana Acharya, whose god is A'ditya, the *Suta* or Charioteer, whose god is Varuna, the *Giamani*, the equivalent of the *Visha*, whose god is the Maruta (wind), the *Kshatta*, or lictor, whose god is Savita, “the generator of the gods, the *Sangrahita*, whom we have already supposed to be the treasurer, but whom Savana makes a charioteer, whose deities are the two Ashvins, the *Bhagadugha* or collector, whose deity is Pusha, the nourishing sun, the *Aksharapa*, or superintendent of the dice, whose god is Rudra, and the *Palagala*, (who has not yet occurred) said by A'pastamba to be the chief ambassador, and the *Parvitti*, or wife without a son † These parties are obviously principally those in public offices, though they include the primitive sacrificial castes

The sacrificial castes are, in the same section of the Brahmana, represented as performing their sprinklings with different trees The *Brahman* takes the Palasha (*Butea frondosa*), the *Rajanya*, the Nyagrodha (*Ficus Indica*), and the *Vaishya*, the Ashvattha (*Ficus religiosa*) ‡ The

* See above, p 124

† Shat Br v 2 4 12 et seq Weber, pp 444 447, 487-8

‡ Shat Br v 3 2 11, et seq p 455 Other class distinctions are mentioned in the context. See pp. 457, 460, 465, 503, 569, 723

multiplication of distinctions in every religious act and ceremony seems to have been early an aim of the Indians. In the same section also, it is said, "There are four Castes (Varnas), the *Brahman*, *Rájanya*, *Va shya*, and *Shudra*, not one of whom there is that vomits the Soma * The mention here of the *Shudra* shows, as in a passage already quoted,† that, in a certain form at least the *Shudra*, though probably not a personal sacrificer, was a participant in the potable or edible material of sacrifice and its supposed spiritual fruits.

In the eighth section of this *Brahmana*, a *Rajanya* who belonged to the province of *Gandhara* to the south of the *Kabul* affluent of the *Indus*, is thus brought to notice. "Further *Svarjīt* son of *Nagnajīt* said Now *Nagnajīt* was a *Gandhāra* This which he said, he spake as a mere *Rajanya* ‡ On this passage it is rightly remarked by Mr. *Muir* that "although his (*Svarjīt*'s) view (respecting breath or life) was not regarded as authoritative still the very fact of its being quoted, and its author mentioned as a *Rajanya* proves his Arian origin" §

In the thirteenth *Kanda*, in which the grand sacrifices and distribution of enormous *dakshinā* by several kings are alluded to, verses are quoted in which both "five classes of men" (*pancha manava*) and "seven classes of men" (*sapta manava*) are alluded to || These Pentads and Heptads naturally bring to notice what is said in the *Veda* of the *Panchakshiti* ¶ Weber thinks that the Pentad

* *Shat Br*

† See above, p v 5 4, 9

‡ *Shat Br* viii. 1 4 10

§ *Muir's Texts*, ii p 366

|| *Shat. Br* xii. 3 6 14. and 23 Weber, p 995 6

¶ See above, pp 116-17

refers to the Panchálas, often mentioned (and supposed by Roth to be the five races of the Paríab) and the Heptad to the Kurus and Panchalas †

An important passage, in this Shatapatha Bráhmana, corresponding with the Vrihad Aranyaka Upanishad will be noticed onwards. But before leaving this Bráhmana we may turning back, refer to two notices, somewhat of a historical character, which it contains, and which are quite consistent with statements made in the commencement of this section of our work.

In the first Kanda there is an account of a Deluge, similar in some respects to that brought to notice in holy writ, which seems to indicate that the Hindus had a tradition of having crossed a great mountain chain on their originally coming to India. This remarkable passage, which has been translated by Weber,* Müller,† and Muir,‡ is as follows — “They brought to Manu in the morning water for washing as they are in the habit of bringing water to wash with the hands. As he was using the water, there came into his hands a fish which said to him,

Preserve me and I will save thee [Manu inquired]

From what will thou save me? [The fish replied] ‘A flood shall sweep away all these creatures, I will rescue thee from it [Manu asked] ‘How is thy protection [to be effected?]’ The fish answered, ‘So long as we are small we are in great peril, and even fish devours fish preserve

† See Note in Muir's Texts 1 pp 135-6, and Weber's Indische Studien 1. 200

* Indische Studien 1. 163 164

† History of A S Literature, p' 425, et seq

‡ Sanskrit Texts, 11 p 325 7

me first in a jar When I grow too large for the jar dig a trench, and preserve me in it. When I become too great for that, carry me to the ocean, I shall then be beyond the reach of danger Straightway it became a great fish, for it grew exceedingly [The fish then said] 'In so many years the flood will come, make a ship therefore, and worship me, and when the flood rises embark on the ship, and I shall deliver thee' Accordingly Manu preserved the fish, and brought it to the ocean, and in the same year which the fish had declared, he built a ship and worshipped [the fish] When the flood ascended he entered the ship, and the fish swam near him and he fastened the cable of the ship to the fish's horn By this means he passed over this northern mountain The fish then said, 'I have delivered thee, fasten the ship to a tree But lest the water should abandon thee when thou art upon the mountain as fast as the water subsides, so fast shalt thou descend along with it' Accordingly he descended as the water subsided Hence, this was 'Manu's descent' from the northern mountain. The flood had swept away all creatures, Manu alone was left. Being desirous of offspring he laboriously performed a religious rite And there too, he sacrificed with the paka sacrifice He cast clarified butter, thickened milk, whey, and curds, as an oblation into the waters After a year a female was produced, who rose unctuous from the waters, with clarified butter under her feet Mita and Varuna met her, and said to her, 'Who art thou?' 'Manu's daughter,' she replied They rejoined, 'Say that thou art our daughter' She answered, 'No, I am the daughter of him who begot me' Then they demanded a share in her She promised, and she did not

promise, but passed on and came to Manu. Manu asked her 'Who art thou?' 'Thy daughter,' she replied. 'Now, thou divine one, art thou my daughter?' he inquired. She replied, 'Thou hast begotten me from these oblations which thou didst cast into the waters. I am a benediction. Introduce me at the sacrifice. If thou shalt do so, thou shalt increase in offspring and cattle. Whatever boon thou shalt supplicate through me, shall accrue to thee.' He accordingly introduced her in the middle of the sacrifice, for that is the middle which stands between the introductory and concluding prayers. He lived with her worshipping and toiling, desirous of offspring. By her he begot this offspring, which is the offspring of Manu.'* This legend appears here in a much more simple form than it does in the Mahabharata, Matsya Purâna, or any of the other works of the later literature of the Hindus. Next to the references to the *Uttara* (northern) *Kurus*, it is the most important tradition known to the Indians respecting their acquaintance with the north. These *Kurus*, often referred to by the Brâhmans in conversation, are brought to notice both in a geographical and mythical form in the Indian literature. The oldest reference to them occurs in the following passage of the *Aitareya Brahmana*. "Wherefore in this northern region, all the people who dwell beyond the *Himavat*, the *Uttara Kurus*, and the *Uttara Madras*, are consecrated to separate rule (vairajya)."† In another passage of the same work, they are spoken of as "the land of the gods (deva-kshétram)," of

* Muir's Texts, II. pp. 325-7

† Ait. Brâh. VIII. 14. This passage was brought to notice by Weber, Ind. Stud. I. 218.

which it is added, ' no mortal may conquer it ' * Other allusions to them occur in the Rámáyana, | Mahabharata, etc Ptolemy, too speaks of a mountain and city called *Ottorohora* † which must be referred to them The sanctity of this region in the eyes of the Hindus probably originated in the respect felt for it as an early seat of at least a branch of the Aryan people §

We find the following remarkable passage also near the commencement of this Brúhmaṇa (first brought to notice by Dr Weber) || referring to the advance of the Aiyas and the spicad of their religious rites from the river Sarasvatí in an easterly direction — ' Mathava the Videgha¶ bore Agní Vaishvanara in his mouth. The Rishi Gotama Rahugana** was his priest (*purohita*) Though addressed by him he (Mathava) did not answer, ' lest (he said) Agní (Fire) should escape from my mouth The priest began to invoke Agní with verses of the Rik ' We kindle thee at the sacrifice O wise Agní the sacrificer the luminous the mighty, O Videgha (R V v 26 3) He made no answer (The priest then repeated) ' Thy bright, brilliant, flaming beams and rays mount upwards, O Agní O Videgha ' (R V viii 44 16) Still he made no

* Ait Brah viii 23

† Rám iv 44 82 Mahabh i v 4719 22 Vishnu Purána p 168

‡ Ptol Geo vi 16

§ See on the Uttara Kurus Lassen's Ind Altherthumskunde, i 511 12, Zeitschrift für die K D M ii 62 and Muirs Texts, ii 332 37

|| Indische Studien, i 170

¶ "Afterwards prakritized to Videha ?

** See R V i 78 5

reply (The priest then recited,) 'Thee, O dropper of butter, we invoke &c (R V v 26 2) So far he uttered, when immediately on the mention of butter (ghrita), Agni Vaishvanara flashed forth from his mouth he could not restrain him so he issued from his mouth and fell down to this earth The Videgha Mathava was then on (or in) the Sarasvati (Agni) then traversed this earth, burning towards the east. Gotama Rāhugana and the Videgha Mathava followed after him as he burned onward He burnt across all these rivers, but he did not burn across the Sadanira, which descends from the northern mountain (the Himalaya) The Brāhmans formerly did not use to cross this river, because it had not been burnt across by Agni Vaishvanara. But now many Brāhmans (live) to the east of it It used to be uninhabitable, and swampy, being untasted by Agni Vaishvanara It is now, however habitable, for Brāhmans have caused it to be tasted by sacrifices In the end of summer this river is, as it were incensed, being still cold, not having been burnt across by Agni Vaishvanara The Videgha Mathava spake, 'Where shall I abide?' (Agni) replied, 'Thy abode (shall be) to the east of this (river) This stream is even now the boundary of the Kosalas and Videhas, for they are the descendants of Māthava'*** The river Sadanira here mentioned is not identified, but the spread of the Aryan faith eastward from the Sarasvati, one of its early seats in India, is certainly made obvious by this somewhat figurative narrative †

* Shat Br 1 4 1 10, et seq

† See on its precise import, Weber in loc cit. and Mur, II 419 422

Notices somewhat similar to those now introduced from the *Autareya*, *Taittiriya*, and *Shatapatha Brahmanas*, may possibly be found to some extent in the less important *Brahmanas*. Dr Weber considers the *Shadvinsha Brahmana* as having a "distinctly formed Brahmanical character, indicating a not very early date." The following passage in it is referred to by Dr Weber and Mr Muir: "India declared the *uktha* (recited hymn) to Vishvāmitra [the Rājanya said to have attained to Brahmanhood], and the *Brahma* (sacrificial knowledge) to Vasishtha [originally a Brahman],—the *uktha*, which is speech, to Vishvamitra, and the *Brahma*, which is mental, to Vasishtha. The object of this is evidently to qualify the effects of the acknowledged transition of Vishvamitra to the priesthood—an admission always felt to be awkward by the supporters of Caste, for it is added "Hence this *brahma* belongs to the Vasishthas. Moreover, let a descendant of Vasishtha, who is acquainted with it, be appointed *Brahma*."* The *Gopatha Brahmana* deals with the ritual of the Atharvas of the fourth Vēda, in which Brāhmanism, though in a sectarian form, is conspicuously dominant †. It even derives its ideal of the Creator from Atharvan. ‡

3 From the *Brahmanas*, we proceed to the *Aranyakas* (Discourses of the Forest) and *Upanishads*, (Discourses to

* See Weber's *Indische Studien* (1 36 39) and Muir's *Texts* (L 79) on the *Shadvinsha*.

† The MSS. of this *Brahmana* are extremely rare. I have just heard of one having fallen into the hands of Dr Haug at Puna as this passes through the press.

‡ See Hist. of A. Sans. Lit. by Dr Max Müller, p 451

Near Sitters)* which are closely connected together. The oldest of these works, speaking generally, represent the speculative thought of India in the ages immediately posterior to those of the Bráhmanas, and in after times. Some of them, however, like the *Vrihad* (or *Brihad*) *Aranyaka Upanishad*, which is mostly written in the name of Yajnavalkya, and finds a place at the end of the *Shatapatha Bráhma* (also attributed to that famous teacher) may be of the same age as that work. The philosophical character confers a peculiar value on their brief references to the social state of the ancient Indians although these references are often of a constrictive character, founded on the desire of their authors to uphold the doctrine of spiritual pantheism (that of the universality and identity of Brahma, viewed not as religious service but as its object and the

* The great commentator Shankara Achárya views *Upanishad* as equivalent to *Annihilator*. In his introduction to the *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, he writes thus "The dawn is the head of the sacrificial horse [the name of this *Aranyaka* derived from its first words] is composed for the sake of those who wish to liberate themselves from the world, in order that they may acquire the knowledge that Brahma [here used not in the Védic sense of religious service but the Spirit to whom this brahma is directed] and the soul are the same, a knowledge by which the liberation from the cause of the world (ignorance) is accomplished. The world is accomplished. This knowledge of Brahma is called *Upanishad*, because it completely annihilates the [essential reality of] the world together with its cause in such as possess this knowledge, for this is the meaning of the word *Sad*, (to destroy or to go) preceded by *Upa* (quasi *upa* near and *ni*, certainly). A work which treats of the same knowledge is called *Upanishad*." Roer's Trans. of Br Ar Up p 1 Dr Max Müller, with more correct philological appreciation, shows that *up + sad* is used "in the sense of sitting and worshipping Hist of A S Lit p 318

object of the contemplation of the wise), for the support of which they have evidently been composed *

From the Brihad (or Vrihad) Aitanyaka Upanishad we take the following notices —

"Brahma verily was this before, one alone. Being one, he did not extend. He with concentrated power created the Kshatra of elevated nature, viz., all those Kshatras who are protectors among the gods, Indra, Varuna, Soma, Rudra, Purjanya, Yama, Death and Ishana. Therefore none is greater than the Kshatra, therefore the Brahman under the Kshatriya, worships at the Rajasuya ceremony. The Kshatra alone gives (him) his glory. Brahma is thus the birth-place of the Kshatra. Therefore although the king obtains the highest dignity he at last takes refuge in the Brahma as in his birth-place. Whosoever despises him, he destroys his birth-place. He is a very great sinner like a man who injures a superior. He did not extend. He created the Vrit. He is all those gods who according to their classes, are called Vasus, Rudras, Adityas, Vishvadevas, and Maiuts. He did not extend. He created the caste of the Shudras as the nourisher. This (earth) is the nourisher, for it nourishes all this whatsoever. He did not extend, he created with concentrated power justice of eminent nature. This justice is the preserver (Kshatra).

* Shankara Acharya says 'The knowledge of the identity of Brahman [in all forms] is the certain meaning of the Upanishads in all the Shakhas' Roes Trans of B A U p 107 Seeking a Vedic support the Upanishads found much on a few expressions contained in some of the later Suktas, such as that attributed to the God Indra by Vamadeva in which he says, I was Manu I am the Sun. See on this and similar expressions of the Veda Authors India Three Thousand Years Ago p 76

of the Kshatra. There is nought higher than justice. Even the weak is confident to defeat the more powerful by justice, as (a householder) by the king. Verily justice is true. Therefore they say of a person who speaks the truth, he speaks justice, or of a person who speaks justice, he speaks the truth. In this manner verily it is both. This is the creation of the Bramha, the Kshatra, the Vit, and the Shudra. He was in the form of Agni (fire) among the Gods as Brahma he was the Brāhmaṇ among men, in the form of Kshatriya Kshatriya, in the form of Vaishya Vaishya, in the form of Shudra Shudra. Therefore among the gods the place (loka) is desired through Agni only, among men through the Brāhmaṇ, because in these forms Brahma became (manifest). * The *Kshat̄ra*, the *Brahma*, the *Vit*, and the *Shudra* are here alike considered the positive creations of Brahma (now used in a new sense). Care, however, is taken that by this view of matters, the *Brahmaṇ* shall not be disparaged, the *Kshat̄ra* at last taking refuge in the *Brahma* as his birth-place. The Shudra (a partial etymological reference being made to the first syllable of the name) is here viewed as the nourisher, but he is still the lowest in the scale. “He (Brahma) was in the form of Agni among the gods as Brahma, he was the Brāhmaṇ among men; in the form of Kshatriya, Kshatriya, in the form of Vaishya, Vaishya, in the form of Shudra, Shudra.” This doctrine

* This is the accurate translation of Dr. Roer (p. 121 o). For “he did not extend it might an improvement to say “He did not separate or multiply, the original being स न व्यभित् The passage occurs in the Vrihad Ar Up 1 4 and in the Shatapatha Brah xiv 4 2 28 p. 1052 in Weber's edition.

Shankara Achárya does not fail to turn to account "Among men the place, the effect of works, is desired through the nature of the Bráhman alone, because Brahma, the creator, 'in their forms,' of the Bráhman and Agni, the forms upon which the agents of work are dependent, 'became manifest. '"

"It verily goes against the grain that a Bráhman should approach a Kshatriya for the purpose of learning Brahma from him." These words are doubtless put by a Bráhman into the mouth of Ajátshatru, "king of Kashí," when he is represented as instructing "Gárgya, the proud son of Baláka."†

"O Matréyi, said Yájnavalkya (to his wife), behold, I am desirous of raising myself from the order, therefore let me divide (my property) between thee and Katyayani there."‡ Here Yájnavalkya desires to leave his *ashrama* of Householder for that of a Sannyásí. The orders, afterwards spoken of by Manu,§ are here recognized. They are also brought to notice in the following passage, which teaches that the mendicant and meditative life is preferable to that of parties following the course of the world. "Then asked him (Yájnavalkya) Kahola, the son of Kushítaka,—Yájnavalkya, do explain to me that Brahma, who is a witness and present that soul which is within every (being)." "It is thy soul which is within every being." "It is the soul which conquers hunger thirst, grief, delusion, old age, (and) death. When Bráhmans know this soul, then elevating themselves from the desire of obtaining a son,

* Roer's Trans. of Vrihad Áraṇy Up p 125

† Ib p 172

‡ Ib p 177

§ See above, p 27-35

from the desire of wealth and from the desire of gaining the worlds (above), they lead the life of wandering mendicants, for the desire of a son is also the desire for wealth (to perform rites), the desire for wealth is also the desire for the worlds, for even both are desires. Therefore knowing wisdom let the Brahman (the student of Brahma) arm himself with strength' * It is afterwards added 'Whoever knowing this indestructible [being] departs from this world, O Gaṅgi, is a (true) Brahman' †

In the fourth Kāṇḍa of the work before us, it is said that Yājnavalkya was offered, at every illustrative story which he repeated "a thousand cows big as elephants," by Janaka king of Videha. His uniform reply was, "My father admonished me where one does not instruct, one should not take (gifts)." † The Brahmans, in the time of the Law-Books, demanded gifts from Kshatryas and Vaishyas without service, and taught that the free bestowment on the priestly caste was meritorious § In the same Kāṇḍa, (and of Purusha, or Soul, in a certain state of abstraction), it is said, "The murderer of a Brāhmaṇa is no Brahman, the Chandāla is no Chāndala, the Paṇḍaka no Paṇḍaka, the religious mendicant (Sramana) no religious mendicant, the ascetic no ascetic, he is unconnected with all that is holy, he is unconnected with sin." This freedom from sin is afterwards attributed to the party possessed of

* Brihad Ār Up iii 5 Roer's Trans p 196 197

† Ib p 204

‡ Ib 213 et seq On another occasion Janaka is represented as saying to his teacher 'I bow to thee let this kingdom of the Vidéhas and this myself be thine' Ib p 219

§ See above, pp 17, 26, etc

the knowledge of Brahma.* The Paulkasa and Chandala have already occurred in the Purusha Médha.† All offensiveness in them and all pre-eminence in others it is insinuated vanishes from the view of the knower of Brahma. The principle here involved as the teaching goes is of general application "The Brâhma should disown a person, who considers the Brâhma (caste) as something different from his (self), the Kshatra should disown a person, who considers the Kshatra (caste) as something from (his) self, the world should disown a person who considers the world as something different from (his) self ‡ That there was some novelty in this pantheistic and anti-vedic teaching was admitted "That this knowledge in former times was not possessed by a Brâhman (thou knowest thyself), but I will explain it to thee"§ It was, generally speaking, not reduced to practice in society, the Indian speculatists preferring unnatural accommodations to the ancient literature and ritual of the country to the setting themselves forth as distinct and marked reformers

In the *Chhandogya Upanishad*, associated with the Sâma Veda,—a portion of which agrees with the Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad || and which may consequently be supposed to be somewhat connected with it in time,—we find a certain kind of scrupulosity as to food brought to notice "Ushashti, son of Chakia who had forsaken Kuru

* Ib pp 228, 241

† See above, pp 131 2

‡ Ib p 243-4

§ Ib p 263

|| Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad, vi 2 seq.—(with the modification of some words) Chhand Up v 3 10 See Roer's Trans of Br Ar Up p 261

with his wife lived in great distress in Ibhyagrāma (the village of an elephant driver) Of the elephant-keeper eating some *Kulmasha* (a coarse bean) he begged (food) He (the elephant-keeper) said, 'I have nothing but what you see before me Give me of it, said he He gave him of it, and offered him some drink 'Were I (he said) to take that I should swallow the remnant of another's drink' 'Is not that also [the beans] a remnant?' 'I cannot live without eating that, but drink I can command at pleasure Having ate thereof, he presented the remainder to his wife She had before partaken of the same, and [therefore] took it and laid it by On the morning rising from his bed, he exclaimed, 'Alas if I could obtain a little food, I could earn some wealth A king is sacrificing in the neighbourhood he would surely employ me to perform all his functions His wife said to him, Here are the beans, (take them,) and eating of them go quickly to the sacrifice * Hunger is here made the excuse for eating the coarse provisions of a man of lower grade, while the drinking of his water, for which an excuse was not readily forthcoming is avoided The scrupulosity indicated seems to have had principally in view the preservation of status, which was really the aim of many subsequent caste regulations A microscopic view of gradations, and supposed degradations connected with them, was soon taken by the Indians In this same Upanishad, the birth of the Chandala follows that of dogs and swine, though it resolves them all into Brahma himself †

* Chhānd. Up (Bib Ind) 10, p 80, et seq and Rāyendralāl Trans pp 27 28

† Chhānd Up v 10 (p 806)

Little is to be found bearing on our subject in the older Minor Upanishads

In the *Taittariya Upamshad*, which forms a portion of the Taittariya Aranyaka of the Black Yajur-Véda (chapters 7-9,) and which is also found in the collection of the Upanishads of the Atharva Veda*,—the following passage, which forms a key to the limited respect paid by the followers of the Upanishads to the gods, forefathers, relatives, teachers, Bráhmans, etc , occurs —“Let there be no neglect of the duties towards the gods and the forefathers Let the mother be a god (to thee) Let the father be a god (to thee) All unblameable works ought to be performed— not any other All the praiseworthy doings of us (the teachers) ought to be respected by thee—not any others The Bráhmans who are better than we, it ought to be thy effort to provide with a seat ” “ Then, ” “ as there (in thy neighbourhood) all the Bráhmans, who are of sober judgment,—who are meek and desirous of performing their duties,—whether they act by themselves or be appointed by another,—as such Bráhmans act among them, so also act thou among them.”† All this is by way of “ accommodation ” The Upanishads, as Dr Roer correctly says, “ acknowledge the gods of the Vedas in name [and the same remark is applicable to the distinctions among men], but not in reality , for their whole nature is altered, since from the state of divinity they are degraded to being; of an inferior order ”‡ They are recognized only as

* See Translation of Taittiriya, etc by Dr Roth 1 : 1

† Taitt Up Shikshá Valli, An. xi Roer, pp 13 14

‡ Introduction to Taitt Up p 7

manifestations in finity of the infinite—the Supreme Self “The Vedanta (the more orthodox system of the Upanishads),” Dr Roei correctly adds, in another place, “also maintained that the acquisition of truth is independent of caste or any other distinction, and that the highest knowledge which is the chief end of man, cannot be imparted by the Vedas, yet it insisted that a knowledge of the Védas was necessary to prepare the mind for the highest knowledge”* It was by this fictitious deference to the Vedas that the supporters of the Vedanta, while in reality superseding these works, conciliated their orthodox friends. The less orthodox schools, as the Sánkhya, acted a more independent part, if we except, perhaps, the founder of that school Dr Max Müller thus writes—“Kapila, an atheistic philosopher of the purest water, was tolerated by the Bráhmans, because, however he differed from their theology, he was ready to sign the most important article of their faith—the divine origin and infallibility of scripture”† But their tenets, as bearing on our subject, we may afterwards notice in connexion with the relations of Buddhism to Caste.

In the *Prashna Upanishad* the Kshatra (as the power) and the Brahma (as the orderer of rites) are represented as founded on life, or Prajápati of whom, it is said, “Thou art a *Vrátaya*,”‡ (as a non initiated Bráhman)—holy by nature, there having been none to perform the

* Introd to *Svetáshavatara Up* p 86

† Review of Muir’s Text in *Times*, 10th April, 1858

‡ *Prash Up* 11 6 11 Vrátaya literally means one of the multitude

rites in thy behalf In this *Upaniśhad*, the Vedanta doctrine scarcely appears in a definite form

4 We conclude this long section of our work by referring to the *Sūtras*, the last class of the Védic works so-called,—which form a connecting link between the Bráhmanas and the Law-Books comprehended under the name of *Smṛiti*, or Remembering

The *Sutras* are written generally in the form of brief Memorial Aphorisms, as indicated by their name of *Sutra* or Thread. Dr Max Müller makes them range between the years 600—200 before Christ They glean much from the Védas and the Bráhmanas, but it is only in so far as they give a legal form to incidental notices which occur in the older works and make allusions to written laws and interpretations that they are of much use

“ They contain the quintessence, ” Dr Müller says, “ of all the knowledge which the Bráhmans had accumulated during many centuries of study and meditation * They are based upon the *Shruti* (comprehending the Védic hymns and the Bráhmanas)†, and, in some instances are on this account called the *Shrauta Sūtras* Those of them which teach the mode of performing the Védic

* Hist of A Sans Lat p 74

† Dr Müller (ib p 76) ingeniously says, “ The reason why the Bráhmanas, which are evidently so much more modern than the Mantras, were allowed to participate in the name of *Shruti*, could only have been because it was from these theological compositions, and not from the simple old poetry of the hymns that a supposed divine authority could be derived from the greater number of the ambitious claims of the Bráhmans

sacrifices are called *Kalpa Sútras*, and even the Brahmins themselves, such as Kumarila, admit that, though authoritative, they are 'composed, by human authors, "like Mashaka, Baudháyana Apastamba A shvalayana, Katyáyana and others."* They are to be distinguished from the *Smártta Sútras*, the *Sutras of the Smriti*, or the Sutras of Tradition, which form the Law Books. Varieties of them are the *Grihya Sútras*, which treat of rites to be performed by householders, principally for the benefit of their families, and the *Sámayáchárika Sútras*, which regulate rites to be performed by individuals on their own account, and the religious services of everyday life †

The most important of the *Sútras* to which the public has access are "The *Shrautasútras* of Katyayana, with Extracts from the Commentaries of Karka and Yajnikadeva," published by the learned and indefatigable Dr Weber, as the third volume of the text of the White Yajur Véda and its adjuncts

In the Sutras now referred to the *Shudra* is plainly declared not to have the right (*adhibhara*) of sacrifice enjoyed by the *Brahman*, *Kshatriya* and *Vaishya*. In support of this dictum, some quotations are made from the Bráhmanas which we have already introduced. It is then found that the *Shudra* is not to be invested with the sacred string, and has not, like the higher Varnas, the right of hearing, committing to memory, or reciting Vedic texts. For listening to these texts he ought to have his ears shut up with lead or lac, by way of punishment, for pronouncing them his tongue cut out and for committing

* Hist. of A. S. Lit. pp. 97 8

† See Muller, p. 200 etc

them to memory, his body cut in two * The *Rathakára* is somewhat more favoured, as far as his presence at the *ādhána*, or initial services of sacrifices, is concerned, † and this it is said is owing to the distinction of his employment for a livelihood, and because it is said, ‘ A *Mah shya* is produced by a *Kshatriya* on a female-*Vaishya*, a *Karami* is produced by a *Vaishya* on a female-*Shudra*, and a *Rathakara* is produced by a *Mahishya* on a female *Karami*. This brings us to the fictional views of the Law-Books ‡ Chiefs of the *Nishádas* have the privilege of offering the boiled seeds of the *Gávédhuka* (*coix barbata*) on the occasion of hallowing a new house § Of the *Vaishya* and *Rájanya*, it is held that they are not entitled to keep burning the sacred fire *garhapatí*, or that of a householder, which is the privilege of the *Bráhman* || In selecting *Bráhmans* for services, as connected with the nuptial fire, reference must be made to the families which represent the respective *Rishis* to which the *Védic* texts are said to have been communicated This the commentary couples with the recognitions of *shál hantara* difference in the Branch or School of the ministrant ¶

* शूद्रस्य वेदाभ्यर श्रवणे उच्चारणे धारणेच ग्राषक्षितस्थ दर्शनात् श्रवणे त्रुपुजुम्भा भोत्रपूरणम उच्चारणे जि हातेद धारणे च वारीरमेद ननि Shrautasutra Kát 1 6 (p 9)

† Ib 1 1 9 et seq

‡ See above, pp 53, 60, 65

§ Shrautasutras of Kát 1 1 12 (p 16)

|| Ib 1 6 16, p 110

¶ Ib v 6 1, p 367 See also x 9 30 pp 832 3

In the *Baudháyana Sútras* of the Black Yajur Véda,* we have found several passages worthy of notice

“The Bráhmans acting as *Ritvijes*,’ it is enjoined, “ought to be perfect in birth, associational lineage (*gotra*), instruction (*shiuta*), and conduct, without fault of body, without scar, not addicted to going beyond the fences (of their town), not goers to the *Antyaja* (those of low birth, dwelling beyond the enclosures of towns), not pronouncers of *haléya-valéya* (that is, not of vulgarized speech), having sons and daughters only of regular birth, having no connection with strange women or women found with child at their marriage not (themselves) posterior in birth not adopted The *Adhvaryu* ought to be of the *Angiras* (order), the *Brahmá* of the *Vasiṣṭha*, the *Hota*, of the *Vishvamitra*, and the *Udgata*, of the *Kushika* † It is also said by some that the *Sadasya* (superintending priest) should be of *Vasiṣṭha* of *Bhrigu* or of *Angiras*, right in birth learning and conduct ‡

The institutor of a sacrifice is represented as connecting in supplicatory transference, robbery with the *Vid्या* and *Shudra* labour, with the *Vaishya*, knowledge, with the *Rajanyabandhu*, Brahmacide, with the *Nishada*,

* For the use of a MS of these Sútras I am indebted to Sadashiva Bhatta of Wái, next to Mahábaleshwar, the highest *tirtha* (sacred place of passage) of the Krishna river These Sútras derive their name from Baudháyana, their collector and arranger

† The classes of priests specified are those who take the different parts of the sacrificial rites See before p 102

‡ Baudháyana Sútras, Prashna u 2 (fol 19 of MS.) The passage goes on to say that the officiating priests should have no imperfection of body etc

paradise (*rodas*), with the Kimpurusha (dwellers in the N E mountains), barbarous speech (*mléchha*), with the residents in forests in repose, with the *Videhas*, the takman (disease) with the *Mujavats*,* cough, with the *Dundubhas*, bile with the *Ishvákus*, preparation for sacrifice, with Kalunga (a country contiguous to the sources of the Ganges), and so forth †

The Mantras to be used respectively by Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Rathakaras, at the *adhana* are expressly prescribed ‡ The Chandas, or Metres to be used by the three first of these classes are mentioned as in the Brahmanas § The Munja or sacred string of the loins|| of the *Brahman* learning the *Vedas*, it is said, should be of the Darbha grass, and of the *Vaishya*, of the hair of the black antelope ¶

In the *Hiranyakéshi Sútras*,—with the use of an old manuscript of which I have been kindly favoured by Tathyá Shastri Athyankara of Wá,—we have found several curious passages, also bearing on the progress of Caste arrangements

In one of them, after it is said that the Brahman, Rájanya, and Vaishya have the *Véddáhyana*, or liberty of repeating the *Védas*, it is added that their sacrifices are established in the Brahman, because all the sacrifices are not forbidden to him, that is, he has a right to

* See before, p 141

† Baudh Sutras, ii 2

‡ Baudh Sut. ii 17

§ Ib vi 13

|| The Munja is to be distinguished from the string worn over the right shoulder. The period for which the Munja is to be worn is mentioned onwards

¶ Ib

perform every *kind* of sacrifice, while the others have not this right. It is also added that the *Rajanya* and *Vaishya* have the privilege of the (daily) *Agnihotra* and of the ceremonies of the new and full moon, while the *Brâhmanas* alone have the privilege of the *Soma* sacrifice, and that the *Nshada* and the *Rathakâra* have the privilege of the *adhana* (initial ceremonies) of the *Agnihotra* of the new and full moon ceremonies*. In conformity with the dicta of the *Brahmanas* the *Vasanta* season is the adhan time of the *Brahman*, the *Gî hma* and *Hemanta*, of the *Râjanya*, the *Varsha* of the *Rathakâra*, and the *Sharad*, of the *Vaishya*, while the *Shishira* is common to them all †. Special mantras are prescribed, as in the *Baudhayana Sutras* for these four castes ‡. The horse for the *Ashvamedha* sacrifice as found suitable, may be brought from the house of a *Brâhman* a *Rajanya*, or a *Vaishya*, as the case may be §. The portion in sacrifice which falls to the institutor of the sacrifice (*Yajamana*) is to be ate by the *Brahman*, but not by the *Râjanya* or the *Vaishya* ||. Silence is to be observed by parties of the three sacrificial classes, when a *Shudra* enters to remove their natural defilements (alluded to with disgusting particularity), and thus the servile position of the *Shudra* is recognized ¶. The sun is addressed as the

* ब्राह्मण राजन्यगोवैद्युत्स च वेदाध्ययनं तज्जियत तेषामेव ब्राह्मणविहिताशक्ता येषु यज्ञ कात्स्न्यमावेगतिविधिं तेषामग्निहोत्रं वर्द्धं पूर्णमासी च नियतौ सोमेष्वा ब्राह्मणस्य धानादग्निहोत्रं दर्शपूर्णमासी च नियतौ निषादरथकारयोराधानादग्निहोत्रं दर्शपूर्णमासी च नियमेते *Huanyaké hí Sutras*, iii. 1

† Ib. iii. 2

‡ Ib. iii. 3

§ Ib. iii. 4

¶ Hir. Sut. vi. 4.

¶ Hir. Su. x. 1

Chárana (Brahman association), as the Shudra, and as the Ārya (probably here meaning the Rájanya and the Vaishya) * A Shudra or Ārya desiring the skin of an animal slain in sacrifice is to receive it from the Agnídhra Brahman, separating himself from the sacrificial party by a circle surrounding the sacrificial pit † In the Agnīhōma sacrifice, the Niṣháda, as well as the Vaishya and Rájanya, may three times drink, from an earthen vessel, of the juice of the roots of the Udambara (*Ficus glomerata*), while a Brahman has to drink of it only once ‡

The sections from the nineteenth to the twenty-fifth inclusive are in the manuscript in our hands denominated the *Hiranyakáshī Smarita Sutras*,—a denomination in which their traditional character is recognized, the *Shrauta Sutras* being more directly founded on the Védic works comprehended under the name of *Shruti* ("what was heard") in ("regular Vedic recitation") In their commencement, it is intimated that the *Upanayana* (or sacrificial endowment with the string) of a Brahman should take place in his seventh year, that of a Rájanya, in his eleventh, and that of a Vaishya, in his twelfth The seasons for this sacrament in the case of each of these classes, are mentioned as already noted by us on the authority of other works The ceremonial, in its different particulars is prescribed It ought to be performed during the first part of the lunar mansion (nakshatra) Puna A couple of Brahm-

* Hir. Su. x. 4.

† Hir. Su. xvi. 1

‡ Hir. Su. xvii. 1 It is because the roots of this fig yield a watery juice that it is called the "water tree" by the natives of India and not as 'being found (as some of our botanists tell us) near springs or water courses.

mans are to be feasted , the Punyáha mantra is to be repeated , the youth is to be shaved (in the head) and decorated , the household fires have to be kindled in their respective positions , the Darbha grass (*Poa cynosuroides*) has to be scattered around them , and the articles required for use—the stone, the unwashed (new) clothing, the skin of a deer, etc , the *munja* (or temporary string) three times to circumvent the loins the rod of the Belva (*Ægle marmelos*), or of the Palasha (*Butea monosperma*) for the Brahman of the Nagiodha (*Ficus Indica*) for the Rajanya and the Udumbara (*Ficus glomerata*) for the Vaishya, the fuel of twenty-one kinds of wood, the frame of wood (to put on each side of the fire pits), the blowpipe, the Daiví (clarified butter spoon) the bunch of Darbha grass and the cup for the clarified-butter are to be put into their places The sacred fire is to be kindled (for the consumption,) in the *homa* rite, of the fuel and the clarified butter The sacred thread has to be put over the shoulder of the candidate for initiation , the *munja* has to be put round the loins , the mantras have to be repeated by the Brahmins, and taught to the party now initiated by them , and the youth has to be blessed in varied forms Clothing has to be given to him according to his caste —the skin of a black antelope to the Brahman , the *asava* (skin of a common antelope) to the Rajanya , and the skin of a goat to the Vaishya Specified mantras varied according to caste, have to be repeated by the initiated Dakshina (douceurs with the right or lucky hand*) are

* On one occasion, when I happened to be walking round one of the *lingayat*s at Elephanta with my left hand towards the quondam object of worship, a Brahman of the old school interested in my safety, attempted to put me into the *right* position that I might escape injury !

to be given to Brāhmans * No symbolical meaning seems associated with the complicated service

In the *darshana* (burnt offering effected simply by casting butter, etc into the flame with a ladle), the Brāhmaṇa's prepared dish (*mantha*) is to be of clarified butter, the Kshatriya's of milk, the Vaishya †, of whey, and the Shūdra ‡, of water †

The twenty sixth and twenty seventh sections of the Sūtras of Hiranyakeshi are called *Samayāchārīka* or *Dharma Sutras*, that is Sutras for regulating conventional practices and duties, viewed as incumbent on individuals, independently of the great ceremonial services †

This division of the work sets out with the mention of the four primitive castes, which it says are recognized by the Vedas The investiture with the string, the reading of the Vēdas, and the keeping of the sacred fire are 'frutless works for the Shudri, whose duty is service Seasons of sacrifice are prescribed for the three first castes (but not for the fourth) The three first classes should, after initiation, spend at least twelve years as students (Brahmācharis), with their A'charya, or religious instruc-

* Hiranyakeshi Sūt. xix. 1 et seq

† Ib. xxiii. 10

‡ The commencement of the Hiranyakeshi Samayachārīka Sūtras is the following अथत् सामयाचारिकां धर्मान् वर्त्यास्यामो धर्मान्वयं प्रमाण वेद —Now in what follows we unfold the conventional practices and duties the authority (being) the intelligent in conventionalities (and) the Vēdas 'Samayāchārīka (says Haridatta, as quoted by Muller, Hist. of A. S p 101) is derived from *samaya* (*agreement*) and *achāra* (*custom*) Rules founded upon *samaya* are called *Samayāchāras* from which (is) the adjective *Samayāchārīka* In our Sūtra, *Dharma* means law "

tor * The pronoun (of respect) is to be used when the wife of a Bráhman is addressed, while those of a Rájanya and Vaishya may be mentioned with their bare names † The Bráhmachári should not enter on the employment of the merchant, or shopkeeper. He should abstain from impure works, such as holding intercourse with Shudras, forming connections with non-Aryan women, eating forbidden flesh, drinking wine and faeces touching the vessel rendered impure by the leavings of a Shudra or of an Aiyá ‡ The Brahman who goes to a Kshatiya woman should give a thousand cows or bullocks for an atonement, to a Váshya woman, a hundred, and to a Shudra woman, ten. The offending woman is to be banished to the wilderness § The Bráhmachári is not to carry arms, but if any person come upon him with intent to kill him, he may use a sword (or any other weapon) at hand.||

After marriage, when the Bráhman enters into the áshrama of a Householder, his first duty is performing the *sthálipaka*—the dressing rice for the homa, or domestic sacrifice, on the day previous to which he has to dine only once and to abstain from his couch, sleeping on the ground, and afterwards to conduct life in the most ceremonious manner. When he has erected an altar of clay and drawn upon it three lines from East to West and three from North to South, he has to sprinkle water upon it, and to throw away the remainder, partly to the North

* Hir Sá xxvi 1 (Prashna 1. of Sam Dh Sát)

† Ib xxvi 4

‡ Ib xxvi 6

§ क्षत्रिय गता गता सहस्र वैरयातनार्थे दद्यात् शत्र वैश्य दद्य शत्रु जपम्
थात्राधिक Ib || Ib xxvi 7

and partly to the East. Other rites are to be performed by him according to the principle, that great happiness is to be obtained by each Varna following its own established rites,* while if the contrary is the case, misery will be the consequence, the *Brahman* being born a Chándála, the *Rájanya* a *Paullkasa*, and the *Vaishya* a *Véna*. It is added, that the occurrence of *dosha* (or fault) follows the contact, and conversation with, or look at, a Chandala. The atonement for a Brahman speaking with or touching such a low person is bathing, and for looking at him, the actual viewing of light (as of the sun). The Aryas (the three higher Varnas) have to make offerings to the *Vishvédévas* (all the gods), and the Shúdras have to do the same, day after day, making three sips. The hairs of the body (of three kinds) have to be shaved on the eighth and fifteenth days of the month, when water is to be touched. On the arrival of a learned Brahman, he ought to be seated and fed while a *Rájanya* and *Vaishya* arriving should only be saluted. If a Shudra come he should be fed and set to household work, (the claim for his service being put in force)†. The Brahman, it is taught by tradition (*smartye*) may read the *Vedas* to *Rajanyas* and *Vaishyas* and even serve them when he is in circumstances of difficulty. In ordinary circumstances, he may occupy himself in all kinds of learning, as that of the *Upaniṣads*, and interpretation of calamities. Learning and reciting (the *Vedas*), sacrificing for himself and for others receiving and giving gifts, are the (six) works of a *Brahman*. These, with the exception of

* सर्व वर्णानां सधर्मानुष्टाने परमपरिमित सुख

† Hir. Sú (S. m.) xxvii 1

reciting the Védas, sacrificing for others, and receiving gifts, are the works of a *Kshatriya*, who has also those of waging war and ruling. The works of the *Vaishya*, with the exception of waging war and ruling, are those of the *Kshatriya*, with agriculture, keeping of cattle, and engaging in merchandise added. It is enjoined that those who do not act according to the Institutes should be taken to the prince (rajanya), who should punish them according to the decision of learned Brahmans, avoiding killing and enslaving (*dásya*) in the case of Brahmans, though not in the case of the other Castes * Eight kinds of marriage are sanctioned, as in the Law Books. The benefits of entering the four ashramas of the *Bramacharí*, *Grīhastha*, *Vanaprastha* and the *Parivrāja*, and the conduct required in each of these orders, are mentioned much as in the Law Books. The *Parivrāja*, in the most advanced ashrama, desiring liberation, should lose sight of the distinction between truth and falsehood, pleasure and pain, beloved and unbeloved objects, and occupy himself in the desire to have spiritual knowledge and well being. The *Vanaprastha*, going into the forests, should aim at the same objects. He should live on roots and fruits, and sleep on the grass. The party who does not desire to live habitually in this state may marry and discharge his household duties. He may still be esteemed a *Vanaprastha* if he live for a year gleaning in the fields, not using in this interval salt, honey, or flesh, or having more than two vessels, one for cooking and the other for eating †.

The work notices certain matters on the authority of

* Ib xxvii 9

† Hir Sám Sú xxvi 15

Ancient Shlokas, or Shlokas of the Puráñas,* such as that there have been 88,000 descendants of the Rúshis

The duties of the prince are specified in the eighteenth section much as in the Law Books. He ought to have at least two counsellors, pure and truthful, and acquainted with the duties of all classes. He ought to be regular in the discharge of his own duties, bearing arms, and having dancing, singing, and music in his own house. He should allow no fear of thieves to be in his country, town, or forest. By giving power (*kshatra*) and wealth to Brahmans, he will be rewarded in the other world. He should not take the property of Brahmans. The giving to them of large *dakshina* is equivalent to sacrifice. He ought to appoint brave and good men for the protection of his

* The seventeenth *patala* of the twenty seventh *Prashna*, commences with these words — अथ पुराण शोका उदाहरति For पुराण, पुराण occurs in the index at the end. The *Bhavishya Purána* is referred to as an authority in the same *patala* —भविष्यत्पुराणे यापि प्रजापतेरचन—In the *Bhavishya Purána*, there is a saying of *Prajapati*, etc. Either this portion of the *Sútras* must be held to be an interpolation, or their modern origin must be admitted, notwithstanding the fact that they bear the name of *Hiranyakáshí*. In regard to the word *patala*, Dr. Müller (Hist. A. S. Lit. p. 524) thus writes —‘ We find that several of the *Sútras* are divided into chapters called *patalas*. This is a word never used for the subdivisions of the *Brahmanas*. Its meaning is a covering, the surrounding skin or membrane, it is also used for a tree. If so, it would seem to be almost synonymous with *liber* and *śīla*, and it would mean book, after meaning originally a sheet of paper made of the surrounding bark of trees. If writing came in towards the latter half of the *Sutra* period, it would no doubt be applied at the same time to reducing the hymns and *Brahmanas* to a written form. Previously to that time, however, we are bound to maintain that the collection of the hymns, and the immense mass of the *Brahmana* literature, were preserved by means of oral tradition only.

people, to keep a city free of the fear of thieves (*tasharas*) for the extent of a *yojana*, and a village for the extent of a *krosha*, and to call upon the people residing in these bounds to make-good the thefts which may occur in them. Taxes (*shulka*) should be raised as imposed, but not taken from parties learned in Vedic works (*shrotriya*), females of any class, young people acquiring knowledge, devotees, *Shudras* discharging their duties (they being the property of others?), the blind, the dumb, the deaf, the diseased, and beggars. The youth who without deliberate intention goes to the wife of another person or to a virgin, is to be punished. He who repeatedly does this has to have his member excised, or to be deprived of his property and banished. The *A'rya* having connection with a *Shudra* woman is to be banished, a *Shudra* having connection with an *A'rya* is to be killed. If a person goes to a woman of his own class being the wife of another, he shall have the fourth part of his tongue cut off for the first offence. If he repeat the offence, he shall have his whole tongue cut out. If a *Shudra* reproach a dutiful *A'rya*, or put himself on equality with him on a road, on a couch, or on a seat, he is to be beaten with a stick. For murder, theft, seizing (another's) land, and going to the wife of another a *Shudra* is to be killed, and a Brahman to have his eyes extracted.* All this elevates caste to its own summit, as in the Law Books.

* नास्ति भाद्रे शूद्रायां वध्य शूद्रं भायांश्च दार्ते चास्य कर्षयेत् सर्वाणीया
मन्यपूर्वाणां सरक्तानिपाते पादः पतती चतुर्थे सर्वेभिर्वाच्छेष्व शूद्रस्यार्थं भास्मिकमाक्षेत्र-
पतो वाचि पायि शश्यायामासनेच सभीभवतो दद्वताऽन्तं पुरुषवर्षे स्त्रेषु भूम्याशाने पर-
दारानुप्रवेश्य इति स्तान्यादाप वध्यशून्निरोधस्त्रेषु ग्राहणस्त तु (Dh.) S.
xxvii 19

The *Apastamba Samayácharika Sútra* and *Dharma Sútra*, belong to the same Véda—the Black Yajur, as those which we have now reviewed. They have been looked at by Dr Muller, who thus writes of them “ *Apastamba*, in his *Samayachárika Sutras*, declares distinctly that there are four *Varnas*, the *Brahman*, the *Kshatriya*, the *Vaishaya*, the *Shudra* but that the initiatory rites the *Upanayana* in particular, are only intended for the three first classes. The same is implied no doubt, in the other *Sutras* which give the rules as to the proper time when a young *Brahman*, a young *Kshatriya*, or a young *Vaishya* should be apprenticed with their spiritual tutors, but never say at what age this or similar ceremonies should be performed for one not belonging to these three *Varnas*. Yet they never exclude the *Shudra* expressly, nor do they represent him as the born slave or client of the other castes. In the *Dharma-sutras* the social degradation of the *Shudra* is as great as in the later Law Books, and the same crime, if committed by a *Brahman* and a *Shudra*, is visited with very different punishments. Thus if a member of the three *Varnas* commits adultery with the wife of a *Shudra*, he is to be banished, if a *Shudra* commits adultery with the wife of a member of the three *Varnas*, he is to be executed. If a *Shudra* abuses an honest member of the three *Varnas*, his tongue is to be cut out. He is to be flogged for not keeping at a respectful distance. For murder, theft, and pillage the *Shudra* is executed, the *Brahman*, if caught in the same offences, is only deprived of his eyesight. This is the same iniquitous law which we find in the later Law Books. But although the distinction between the *Shudras* and the other *Varnas* is so

sharply drawn by A'pastamba, he admits that a Shudra, if he obeys the law may be born again as a Vaishya, the Vaishya as a Kshatriya, and the Kshatriya as a Bráhman, and that a Brahman if he disobeys the law will be born again as a Kshatriya, the Kshatriya as a Vushya, and the Vaishya as a Shudra * This passage contains evidence that the A'pastamba Samayacharika and Dháraṇa Sútras of A'pastamba agree, in the matters mentioned, with those of Hiranyakéshí, to which we have above referred. They both exclude the Shudra from the Upayana and other rites to which the higher classes have access. Some of the other Sútras do the same thing which is taught by implication, as noticed by Dr Müller in all the Vedic Sútras †. The enslavement of the Shudra I rather think, is taken for granted by Hiranyakéshí, when he hints at the easy appropriation of him, in the terms we have above referred to ‡. The iniquitous degradation of the Shudra,—corresponding with that of the Law Books,—is expressed in the same language both by Hiranyakéshí and A'pastamba. It is quite possible, however from the reference made to the "Purana Shlokas, which we have noticed in a portion of the Hiranyakéshí Sútras, that it is a posterior addition made to them expressly to effect their agreement with the Law Books and other later authorities §. A'pastamba's reference to a change of

* Hist. of A. S. Lit. p. 207

† See reference to the Kátyáyana Shravata Sútras, p. 183, above.

‡ See p. 192

§ Dr Müller in a note thus draws attention to an instance of direct fraud in a matter of this kind in later times —' Apast 1 6 अद्यात्मामदुष्कर्मणामुपायने वेदाभ्यपनमन्यादेय फलवति च कर्माणि ॥ शुश्रूषा शूद्र

places in future births,—the consequence of the full development of the doctrine of the metempsychosis—occurs, in the same words in Hiranyakeshi *

In the *Ashvaláyana Shravata Sútra*,† associated with the Rig-Véda, we have found no passages referring to Caste which are not anticipated by our extracts from the Brahmanas, except in so far as the reputed *gotras* (families) of the Bráhmans and the progenitor Rishis recognized by them in the *pravara*, or initial invocation of the god Agni, with the names of ancient Rishis added, at the consecration of fire, are concerned. These *gotras* and *pravaras*, as found in this *Sutra* are tabulated by Dr. Muller ‡. We shall afterwards have to notice them

स्येतरेषां वर्णनां ॥ In later works such as the Sanskura ganapati this Sútra of A pastamba which excludes the Shádras from initiation, has been so altered as to admit them MS E I H 912, p 16 अथ शूद्राणामुपनयनं । आपस्तव । शूद्राणामदुष्टकर्मणामुपनयनं । मदपानरहितानामिति कल्पतरुकर ॥—To effect this fraud (if a MS of the Mahárahstri was before its author), nothing more was necessary than to overlook the involved but unexpressed, short vowel (a) of the preceding word forming the negative. The passage in Hiranyakeshi stands thus— चत्वारौ वर्णा ब्राह्मण क्षत्रिय वैश्य शूद्रास्तेषां पूर्वं पूर्वो जन्मत ब्रेगानशूद्राणामदुष्टकर्मणामुपनयो वैदाध्ययनमन्याध्येय फलवतिच कमाणि (xxvi 1). All that was necessary for the fraud was to commence the quotation without picking up the negative a from *shreyana* preceding *shudránam*. The Shádrá initiations, etc. effected by the fraud notwithstanding were not to be made by the Vedic mantras (still confined to the higher Varnas) but by what are called the Náma mantras—mantras framed on the principle of the mere recognition of the names of the later gods

* Hir Su xxvii 10

† For the copy of these Sutras which we have used, we are indebted to Bhattambhatta Phadaké of Wái

‡ Hist. of A. S. Lit pp 380 6

in connexion with the still existing divisions in the Indian Brahmanhood

The *Grihya Sūtra*,—or Sutra of Domestic Rites,—of Ashvalayana, also furnishes us with little material connected with caste. The lowly Chandala is thus associated with other beings in the distribution of rice at the Paka yajna (the sacrifice of cooked meats*) resorted to on several domestic occasions —“Let *anna* be thrown on the ground to dogs, Chandalas, demons, the fallen, and crows † Of sacramental ceremonies to be used by the three Varnas up to the time of initiation the following are mentioned on the authority of ‘Upanishads’ not otherwise specified —*Gaibhālambhana punsavana, anaralobhana* which are to be performed in the third month of conception, *simantonnyana*, to be performed in the fourth month of conception, *jātakarma* to be performed at birth, *annaprashana*, to be performed in the sixth month after birth, *chaulki* which ought to be performed in the third year after birth, and the *upanayana*,‡ to be performed in the eighth year after birth in the case of Brāhmans, in the eleventh in the case of Kshatriyas, and the twelfth in the case of Vaishyas, though they may be delayed for double these periods in the respective cases mentioned, at the expiry of which if they be not performed the parties will be reckoned apostates—*patit savitrika* (fallen from the savitri or sacred gayatrī), and incapacitated for initiation, study, and social intercourse

* Dr Müller (p 203) takes *pala* in this word to signify *small* or *good*, as it sometimes does.

(*vyavaharéyuh*) * In connexion with the return of a youth to his family after the expiry of his pupilage, and the burnt-offering which is then to be made, Agni is to be addressed as having "the *Brahman* for his mouth, the *Rajanya* for his arm, the *Vaishya* for his belly, and women for his — +

Allied in origin to the Sutra now referred to is the *Mánava Kalpa* (Ceremonial) *Sútra*, connected with the Black Yajur Veda, the first four books of which have been lately lithographed under the auspices of Dr Goldstucker. In this curious and rare fragment we have found but little which bears on caste while this little has on other authorities, been mostly anticipated in the preceding pages. The leavings at the *Homa*, however it tells us are to be ate and drunk by the *Brahman* and not by the *Rajanya* or *Vaishya* +. The second birth (*dvijatva*) is not to be reckoned as effected in the case of *Shudras*, even when the *Sanskáras* of the *Dvijas* (the *Brahman*, *Kshatriya* and *Vaishya*) are practised by them §. Pious *Rájanyas* are recommended to have a continuous *Agnihotra* under the care of a *Ritvija*, for it is the *Brahman* who has the (special) privilege of sacrifice. In connexion with this, the commentator (*Kumarila*) holds that no *Brahman* engaged in the occupation of other castes should be employed in the *Agnihotra* (or other sacrificial rites), and quotes in support of this view a dictum (which also occurs in the

* Ash Gr Sú 1 12 19

+ Ib 11 8

‡ *Mánava Kalpa Sutra*, fol 55 (b) The transcript (nearly amounting to a fac simile) was made by a Sanskrit student, Miss Amelia Rattenbury

§ *Mánava Kalpa Sutras*, fol. 76 (6)

Manu Smriti) to the effect that " Bráhmans who take care of cattle who trade who practise mechanical and sportive arts who are body-attendants who are usurers, are to be treated as Shudras " *

The Sutras very unequivocally bring us to the Law Books The time of their respective authors, or rather collectors we may afterwards notice

Without enlarging at present on what has so evidently conducted us to what are, undoubtedly, the positive institutions of Caste, we would now make a brief recapitulation of this long section of our work, with a view to concentrating on the precise subject of our inquiries the scattered rays which it furnishes

The ruling tribe of India for many ages past has been that of the Aryas whose language (the oldest specimens of which we have in the Vedas and which was ultimately called the Sanskrit) is admitted by all philologists to be cognate with the Greek, Latin, Gothic, Celtic, Armenian, Persian and other European and Asiatic languages, comprehended in the Indo-Teutonic family It bears the closest analogy to the Zend, in which exist the ancient literary works of the followers of Zoroaster, or the Iranians, of Persia The *Iamans* derived their name from their supposed primitive seat as an organized community *An yana Vaejo* (the Aryan Vaejo), on the slopes of the mountainous country between the Oxus and Jaxartes, the general name of the land over which they afterwards spread on their way to the south being *Arya*, the

* Mánava Kalpa Sutras, fol 98 (b) The dictum quoted occurs in the Manu Smriti, vñ 102 where it is applied to the treatment of witnesses.

noun of the adjective *Aryana* now mentioned. The word *Arya* in Sanskrit designates the people who had come from *Arya*, in the first instance, to the banks of the Indus, where, in consequence of social and religious changes, they became to a great extent separated from their congeners, who had failed to follow them to the limits of their wanderings. On the affluents and banks of the Indus, the Aryas composed the hymns now found in the Vedic collections, which are the only sources of our knowledge of their ancient state. The religious differences which occurred between them and the Iranians were of considerable magnitude, but nevertheless they left many traces, as we have seen, of a common faith and practice in the ages of antiquity. The Aryas were in many respects an interesting people, and considerably advanced in civilization, but as they extended themselves in the land of the Indus and adjoining territories, and came in contact with other tribes who had preceded them in their immigrations into these regions of the earth, they manifested to them great pride of race and violence of religious antipathy and opposition as is abundantly evident from numerous passages which we have produced from their ancient literary remains. This pride of race and violence of religious antipathy were the origin of the caste feeling everafterwards displayed by the Aryas to the tribes whom they supposed to be inferior to themselves, and more especially to those who have not been able in whole or in part to rest their religious and civil domi-

they sought to possess, as scarcely human beings. Their very names they made the synonyms of fiends and devils.

But in connexion with Caste the community of the Aiyas themselves has to be looked at as well as their bearing to the tribes and races exterior to that community. Though religious and social distinctions were known among them from their entrance into India Caste in the technical sense of the term did certainly not then exist among them. The *Brahmā* or *Brahman* was at first merely the utterer or conductor of *brahma* or prayer, the *Rājanya*, the prince, and the *Kshatīa*, or *Kshatriya* were the possessors and dispensers of the *raj* or government, and *kshatīa* power or authority, and the *Visha* *Vita*, or *Vaishya*, was an ordinary householder. Rank and profession were seen in these distinctions, but they were founded on fitness conventional understanding and arrangement, and not on an alleged dive se generation from the body or substance of deity. As far as any religious pre eminence might be associated with them, they were not even hereditary. The Brahmins asked no privileges on account of original status or dignity. As distinguished from other priests associated with themselves and belonging to the same class they were only, on first obtaining distinction, conductors of the greater ceremonials and the appointed *Purohitas* or family-priests of kings and princes. The highest parties in a religious point of view in the Aryan community were the Rishis, the poetical authors of their hymns and these might belong either to kingly, priestly, common, or even Dasyu, families. Instances of their intermarriage in both kingly and priestly families are brought to notice. *Rajanyas* and

Vaishyas had the privilege of conducting sacrifice as well as *Bráhmans*, and no peculiar appropriation of duty to *Vaishyas* was for long made by religious legislation. The name *Shúdra* does not even occur in the early parts of the collection of the *Vedas*. It belonged to a people first found (and enslaved) by the *Aryas* on the banks of the Indus, and it was afterwards given to other bodies of men placed in a similar position with regard to the dominant tribe. The doctrine of Caste impurity and defilement is not found in the ancient Védic collections though the *Bráhmaṇas* make allusions to sacramental defilement. The peculiar conception of the god Brahma, in connection with which the theory of Caste is associated had been formed in the first of the Vedic ages. The Hymn of the Primeval Male in which it is first found in an incipient form does not belong to the earlier portions of the *Vedas*.

It is in the derivative *Vedas* that the predominance of the Brahman in sacrifice first begins authoritatively to appear. In these derivative *Vedas*, too, various social distinctions and professional functions are first mentioned, though without any reference to an established religious foundation. Custom it may be admitted, however, was at the time of the arrangement of these *Védas* preparing the way for the development of inter-*Aryan* Caste. In one of the *Khillas*, or supplementary chapters, of the White *Yajur Veda* that denominates the *Purushamedha*,—certainly not older than the period of the *Bráhmaṇas*,—numerous distinctive and curious classes in the Indian community are brought to notice. Many of these classes were after-

reference to their specified associations and connexions shows that the Caste system was not matured when the chapter of the *Purushamédha* was composed.

A great deterioration of the Indian mind bearing on the development of Caste, appears in connexion with the *Atharva*, the latest of the Vedic collections. The Indian people are obviously brought to notice in it as bound in the fetters of an established hierarchy and rampant superstition. The priest, particularly the priest of the *Atharva* class, is dominant in that work. In it, too, the Brahman, or the *Purohita*, is not the minister or substitute but the lord of the prince, and peculiar privileges are consequently to be enjoyed by him.

In the *Bráhmanas*, or earliest Liturgical and Rubrical Duectories and Compilations of the Legendry and Speculation of the Bráhmans,—the supposed age of which has just been mentioned,—the progress of the Bráhmans to power, and the gradual development of Caste in general, receives some valuable incidental illustrations. These compositions always treat of the Bráhmans as a pre-eminent class, ascribing their “beauty and wisdom” to the *Gáyatrí* verse, while they speak of the *Kshatriya* as obtaining “splendour and bravery” from the *Trishtub*, and of the *Vaishya*, as getting cattle, from the *Jagati*. A certain Rishi of the *Védas*, a *Dásyaputra* they tell us, enjoyed his status only by the special favour of the gods. The Brahman, they say, stands in the relationship to others of Brihaspati, the *Purohita* of the gods. They encourage the maintenance of a hereditary priesthood, even by force. They relate long legends to enhance the virtue of the royal *Vishvámitra*, who had been raised to the Brahmanhood by his adoption of a Bráhman who

had narrowly escaped been sacrificed to the gods, and they degrade the memory of this Vishvamitra by making him the parent of certain aboriginal tribes. They throw distinctive light on the manner in which the Bráhmans practically obtained a monopoly in sacrifice. The Bráhmans, they tell us, acted in their own peculiar character and functions when they conducted sacrifices, while the Kshatriyas laid aside their peculiar character and functions when they sacrificed and performed a work beyond their general ability. They invent stories of excessive (almost incalculable) rewards having been given by princes to officiating priests. They put the Brahman in the class of the gods, and the Shudra in the class of the devils. Nay they declare that the Brahman is every divinity. In the lack of a goat for a sacrifice, the Homa, they declare, may be made at the right hand of a Brahman. He is the Vaishvanara fire, if the Homa be made on the *Brahman's* hand it is as if made by Agni himself. The *Brahman* is of the form of the day, the *Kshatriya* of the form of the night. The *Shudra* is only the watchman at the great horse-sacrifice. It is perhaps in connexion with his watching at sacrifice or in his participation in the edibles or potables of sacrifice (also referred to in the Brahmanas) that the Shudra in a particular instance is invited to sacrifice.* The Brahman they recommend to seek to be the personal representative at sacrifice of every Kshatriya. Defilement and impurity they first bring to notice, but this not in connexion with the persons of men in ordinary circumstances, as in the matured system of caste, but in connexion with sacramental services.

* See above p 163

One of the legends of the Bráhmanas, agreeing in some respects with the Mosaic history of the Deluge, seems to indicate that the Aryas had some tradition of their having passed some great mountainous range to the north on their coming to India. This agrees with the inferences noticed in the commencement of this section of our work. A party connected with Gandhara is represented in the Shatapatha Bráhmana as speaking in his proper character, and this as an Aryan. Pentads and Heptads are mentioned in the same work, but these perhaps only in connexion with the peoples of the Panjab and the contiguous country.

The old *Aranyakas* and *Upamáshads*, which are founded on Pantheism, or on Dualism, are philosophically speaking unfavourable to caste, inasmuch as they treat of all the varieties of men and animals as merely developments of *Brahma*, which they use in the new sense of the universal Self, Soul, or Spirit. They even ascribe the origin of the knowledge of *Brahma* (in a passage which we shall afterwards quote) to the Kshatriyas as distinguished from the Bráhmans.* Yet incidental references and legends in these works are sometimes not inconsistent with the claims of the Bráhmans for pre-eminence. *Brahma*, they say, is the birth place of the Kshatra. God in the Bráhman is in his highest form. The doctrine of *Brahma* (or Soul) may be learned from a Kshatriya, but it goes against the grain for a Bráhman to approach a Kshatriya to learn this doctrine. Looking to the non-initiated world, these philosophical works recognize the Bráhmanical Ashrams, or Orders, as in the later Law Books. The founders of the Indian Schools, in general, accommo-

* Chhandogya Up. v. 3. 7

dated themselves to the prevailing customs and superstitions of the country

The *Vedic Sutras*, the period of which probably ranges from 600 to 200 before Christ, and which are intermediate between the Brāhmaṇas and the Law Books, show a marked growth in the development of caste. This remark is more applicable however, to the *Shrauta Sutras* and *Sama-yachārika* or *Dharma Sūtras*, than to the *Gṛihya Sutras* or Sutras of Domestic Services, but our references to them have been so recent that they need not be here recapitulated.

From what we have collected, translated, and said in this long section, it must be apparent that Caste, which was not an original institution of the Aryas, arose from small and almost imperceptible beginnings though in a way which at the same time is not unintelligible in the view of the admitted pravities of human nature. Our conclusions respecting it though founded on a personal and special examination of the Vedic works to which we have referred (with the helps with which they are now associated), are wonderfully in accordance with those of the learned orientalists who have of late years given their attention to it in Europe, such as Lassen, Roth, Weber, Muir, and Max Muller. All these learned gentlemen have, at greater or less length, noticed the rise and advancement of the Brahmanical power much in the way we have done in the preceding pages. Dr Muller, for example, thus writes in his usual animated style, but with an acute recognition of facts and principles — “The three occupations of the Aryas in India were fighting, cultivating the soil, and worshipping the gods. Those who fought

the battles of the people would naturally acquire influence and rank and their leaders appear in the Véda as Rajas or Kings. Those who did not share in the fighting would occupy a more humble position, they were called Vish, Vaishyas or householders, and would no doubt have to contribute towards the maintenance of the armies.

“ But a third occupation, that of worshipping the gods, was evidently considered by the whole nation to be as important and as truly essential to the well-being of the country as fighting against enemies or cultivating the soil. However imperfect and absurd their notions of the Deity may seem to us, we must admit that no nation was ever so anxious to perform the service of their gods as the early Hindus. It is the gods who conquer the enemy, it is the gods who vonchsafe a rich harvest. Health and wealth, children, friends, flocks, and gold, all are the gifts of the gods. And these are not unmeaning phrases with those early poets. “ Among a nation of this peculiar stamp the priests were certain to acquire great influence at a very early period, and, like all priests, they were as certain to use it for their own advantage, and to the ruin of all true religious feeling. It is the lifespring of all religion that man feels the immediate presence of God and draws as near to God as a child to his father. But the priests maintained that no one should approach the gods without their intercession, and that no sacrifices should be offered without their advice. Most of the Indo-European nations have resisted these claims, but in India the priests were successful, and in the Véda, already, though only in some of the latest hymns, the position of the priest or the Purohita, is firmly estab-

blished" "These very hymns were the chief strength on which the priests relied and they were handed down from father to son as the most valuable heirloom A hymn by which the gods had been invoked at the beginning of a battle, and which had secured to the king a victory over his enemies, was considered an unfailing spell, and it became the sacred war-song of a whole tribe. But the priests only were allowed to chant these songs, they only were able to teach them, and they impressed the people with a belief that the slightest mistake in the words, or the pronunciation of the words, would rouse the anger of the gods. Thus they became the masters of all religious ceremonies, the teachers of the people the ministers of kings. Their favour was courted, their anger dreaded by a pious but credulous race. The priests never aspired [nominally] to Royal power. They left the insignia of royalty to the military caste. But woe to the warrior who would not submit to their spiritual guidance, or who would dare to perform his sacrifice without waiting for his Samuel! There were fierce and sanguinary struggles between the priests and the nobility before the King consented to bow before the Brahman. In the Veda we still find Kings composing their own hymns to the gods, royal bards, Rajarshis, who united in their person the powers both of king and priest. The family of Vishvamitra has contributed its own collection of hymns to the Rig-Veda, but Vishvamitra himself was of royal descent, and if in later times he is represented as admitted to the Brahmanic family of the Bhrigus—a family famous for its sanctity as well as its valour—this is but an excuse invented by the Brahmans, in order to

explain what would otherwise have upset their old system King Janaka of Videha is represented in some of the Brahmanas as more learned than any of the Bráhmans at his Court Yet when instructed by Yajnavalkaya as to the real nature of the soul and its identity with Brahma, or the divine spirit, he exclaims I will give thee, O Venerable, the kingdom of the Videhas, and my own self to become thy slave As the influence of the Brahmanas extended they became more and more jealous of their privileges and, while fixing their own privileges, they endeavoured at the same time to circumscribe the duties of the warriors and the householders Those of the Aryas who would not submit to the laws of the three estates were treated as outcasts, and they are chiefly known by the name of Vratyas or tribes. They spoke the same language as the three Aryan castes, but they did not submit to Brahmanic discipline, and they had to perform certain penances if they wished to be readmitted into the Aryan society The aboriginal inhabitants again who conformed to the Brahmanic law, received certain privileges, and were constituted as a fourth caste, under the name of Shudras, whereas all the rest who kept aloof were called Dasyus, whatever their language might be * We clearly see the path over which the Bráhmans moved though we cannot sympathize with either their aspirations or their success Caste was a growth, pride being its seminal principle—the pride of race, and the pride of religious presumption and pre-eminence, issuing in arrogant monopoly

VI—CASTE IN THE INDIAN EPICS

In looking for information as to the origin and early development of Caste, we have hitherto confined our attention to the Védic works, of different characters and ages, which, as far as that institution is concerned have passed in review before us in the preceding section of our volume. We have next to seek for illustrations of its action in Indian society in the literature which may be considered, at least, in its original form, intermediate between these Védic works and the Hindu Law-Books, in which Caste is essentially bound up with Hinduism, and decreed, as far as priestly legislation can accomplish the matter, to last till the world, by its impairment and neglect is ripe for destruction.* We now turn our attention to the *Epics*, which, when critically viewed are really the best sources of information respecting the working of Caste influences and their extension and maintenance throughout India.

By the Indian Epics, we mean the *Ramáyana* and the *Mahabharata*. They are both designated *Kávya*, poetry properly so-called, and *itihasa* or *ākhyána*, narrative or tale. They were first denominated Epics by Sir William Jones, whose conjectures, even respecting what was but imperfectly known in his day, were often of a happy character. "The appropriateness of the epithet," says Professor H H Wilson, "has been denied by some of those ultra-admirers of Virgil and Homer, who will allow the dignity of the Epos to be claimed by none but the objects of their idolatry and, in the restricted sense in which a poem is entitled *Epic*, agreeable to the definition of

* See before, note, p 72

Aristotle, it may indeed be matter of question, if the term be strictly applicable to the Hindu Poems. Although, however, it might not be impossible to vindicate their pretensions to such a title, yet it is not worth while to defend them. It matters little what they are called, and they will not lose their value, as interesting narratives of important events, as storehouses of historical traditions and mythological legends, as records of the ancient social and political condition of India, and as pictures of natural manners, if instead of *epic*, they be denominated *heroic* poems.* As they are now found, they are both especially the *Mahabharata*, deficient in unity, and have an immense number of anachronisms, episodes, digressions, discussions interpolations, many of which are posterior to their original composition. We notice them in what we conceive to be the order of that composition.

1 The *Ramáyana*, or Progress-of-Rama, derives its name from Rama, King of Ayodhya, ('Oude'), the thirty-fourth in descent according to one of its recensions from the mythical personage Vaivasvata or Manu, the son of the sun. Its great object is to celebrate, after a mythical or allegorical form, the advancement of the Aryan power and rites among the uncivilized tribes of the south of India the opposition to which is typified by a Rákshasa or giant named Ravana,† who is said to have carried off Sítá the wife of Ráma, the daughter of Śwadhaya, the representative of the line of Janaka of Videha, or Maithila.

* Introduction to Johnson's Selections from the *Mahábhárata*.

† What this is to India, says Dr. Max Müller, 'the war of Persia was to Greece, the victory of patriotic valour over brute force. The muses of Herodotus are the *Ramáyana* of Hellas.' Hist. A. S. Lit. p. 17 Yet, how vastly different their character!

This occurred when Rama, banished by his father Dasharatha, was living as an ascetic in the forests, along with one of his brothers Lakshmana. The action of the poem is primarily directed to the recovery and reinstatement of Sita, and on the whole it is of a uniform casting Ráma, with the assistance of Sugriva, Hanuman and other monkey chiefs, (representatives of forest tribes,) invaded Lanka, the country of the ravisher, took his capital, killed Ravana in fight, established the brother of the offender (Vibhishana, the formidable) on the throne, and returned to Ayodhyá, where he reigned in succession to his father. The sphere of the poem, viewed in its essential range as observed by Professor Lassen "is geographically limited to the country north of the Vindhya [mountains], in the south there is nothing but a wilderness of forests, with monkeys for inhabitants." Little notice is taken in it of any southern peoples, though there are allusions to them in Sugriva's charge to the monkeys requiring them to search various localities for Sítá, as will afterwards appear, and the extension of its story to Lanká, or Ceylon, as thought by Lassen is probably posterior to its original composition. It is attributed to Válmíki, a Brahman represented as the contemporary of Rama, but certainly it was not composed in the days of that king, while large portions of it so speak of Válmíki as to show that he was not their author. The portions of it which allude to Ráma as an incarnation of a portion, or a portion-of-a-portion (*anshansha*) of the god Viśnu do not seem to belong to its original plan *. It was originally handed

* "In the Epic poems," says Lassen, "Rama and Krishna certainly appear as incarnations of Viśnu, but at the same time as human

down orally, and is said to have been sung at a great Ashvamedha, or royal horse sacrifice by Kusha and Lava, the reputed [but disowned] sons of its hero, "their joint name (*Kushilava*), as remarked by Lassen, "signifying a bard and at a later time an actor, as though the hero had through his seed given birth to a race of bards" A good portion of it, distinguished for the ease and naturalness of its language, may have been composed when the Sanskrit was a spoken language, which it ceased to be soon after

heroes and these two representations are so little commingled that both of the two ordinarily display themselves only like other more highly gifted men, act according to human motives, and do not by any means turn their divine superiority to account. It is only in single sections especially added to inculcate their divinity that they come forward as Vishnu. No one can read the two poems with attention without being reminded of the later addition of these deifying sections of the awkward manner in which they are often introduced, of the looseness of their connexion and of their superfluousness with reference to the progress of the narrative. Even as the *Mahábhárata* now stands Krishna is not the principal hero of the poem this part is appropriated to the Pandavas. He certainly belonged to the original Pandava legend but only as the hero of his tribe and not as occupying a higher position than the Pandavas. His elevation above his fellow heroes is due to later endeavours but does not pervade the whole work and it is only in a very few places that the later editors have ventured to call the *Bhágavata* the holy book of Krishna. For Lassen on the Indian Epics, see his *Indische Altherthumskunde* 1 479-499. Gorresio in his preface to the fifth volume of his text of the *Rámayana*, after quoting the passages in which Ráma is spoken of in that work as an *Avatára* of Vishnu hesitates to pronounce on the question of their original connection, or not with the poem. At p. xlvi he says "Resti dunque sospesa la sentenza *sub judice* his. The passages quoted are but few in number and the idea which they express is certainly not wrought into the body of the poem.

the time of Buddha. Its legends (as well as those of the *Mahābhārata* which is posterior to it) Professor Lassen justly holds "were remolded in a way which tended to generalize them and obliterate the features of the more ancient times, and while the whole material was subjected to a priestly, religious influence." "The views of a later period," the same distinguished author adds "penetrated the ancient legend, the doctrines of the three great gods [Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva] of the four castes and their position, and whatever other ideas were not a part of the Indian system took possession also of the traditions of the earliest era. The priestly element of the history of the gods restricted the martial character of the heroic legend, and confined it to narrower limits. The battles in the *Ramayana* seek rather to excite our astonishment by supernatural personages and weapons than to awaken our wonder by great natural human prowess. Pahlavas (the *Pactyes* of the Greeks) Shakas Yavanas, (Iōnes, or Greeks) are mentioned in it*, and in all probability, the Yavanas here referred to became known to the Indians posterior to the days of Alexander the Great. It is difficult, almost impossible in many instances to distinguish between the more ancient and more modern portions of the work, between those which are prior and those which are posterior to the triumph of Buddhism. It exists it may be proper here to add, in at least two recensions the Northern recension and Gaud, or Bengal recension which, in some places, differ considerably in their wording though little in their meaning. Sometimes we have had the one, and sometimes the other in our hands, when making our extracts. In the portions

* Rām 1: 55

of the Ramayana meritoriously published and translated by Drs Marshman and Carey, there is a combination, or mixture of the recensions Schlegel attempted, in the portions which he edited and translated, to give the northern text in its purity. It is the Gaud recension which of late years has been very neatly and accurately edited, with an excellent Italian translation by the Cavaliere Gaspare Gorresio. In the Sanskrit text of the work it is said to consist of 24 000 verses.* One of my friends (the Rev J W Gardner) who has kindly counted them for me finds them to amount to 20 213.

It has evidently been an object with the authors of the Ramayana to represent the Caste system—especially as connected with the Bráhmans Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudras,—as essentially formed in the days of Ráma the King of Ayodhyá, whose doings they celebrate in a mythical form. These castes are often mentioned together, throughout that poem, as forming the recognized divisions of Hindu society. In its introduction it is prophesied of Rama, as the descendant of Raghu, one of his predecessors on the throne, that he should establish the four *Varnas* in the world according to their respective duties.† Among the inhabitants of his capital were the excellent twice-born men maintaining the sacrificial fire, deeply read in the Véda and its six Angas,‡ distributors of thousands (of gifts), full

* Ram. I. at the end

† Ramayana I. 199

‡ The six Védángas or “members-of the Véda.” “This name, Dr Müller (Hist. A. S. Lit. p. 109) correctly says, does not imply the existence of six distinct books or treatises, but only the intimate connection with the Véda, the Bráhmaṇas, &c.”

of truth, discipline, and mercy, like the ancient great Rishis, controllers of themselves* Of its people in general it is said that no one of them was *anyāyavrittīman*, addicted to a calling not his own † “The Kshatra Brahma, and Vīta were loyal to their sovereign, while there were no Sankaras (mixed classes) either by birth or by conduct ‡ “All the Varnas kept by them proper work § To the horse-sacrifice of Dasharatha the father of Rama, performed for the sake of offspring, learned and devout Brāhmans were ordered to be summoned by Sumantra, his minister, who is said to have introduced Suyajna, Vamadeva Javali, Kṛshyapa, the Purohita Vasishtha, and others, the poet by a gross anachronism going back to the times of the Vedas || These Brāhmans began to conduct the sacrifice Multitudes of their caste were present, who were furnished with abundance of food and drink Pious persons of the four castes were ordered by Vasishtha to be invited and also Janaka, king of Mithila, the King of Kāshī, the king

subjects, the study of which was necessary either for the reading, the understanding or the proper sacrificial employment of the Vēda Dr M thinks they were originally' integral portions of the Brāhmaṇas, in the same manner as the [primitive] Purāṇas and Itihāsas and not the “small and barren tracts now known by this name (p 110) They are mentioned in the little Charanavyuha to which we must afterwards refer as *shikshā* (pronunciation), *kalpa* (ceremonial) *vyakdrana* (grammar) *nirukta*, (explanation, of words) *chanda* (metre) and *jyotiṣha* (astronomy and astrology) All the Brāhmaṇas consider them to have still these divisions.

* Rām 1 5 20 † Rām 1 6 6 ‡ Rām 1 6 21

सर्वे वर्णे स्वक्रमाभि Rām 1 16 (N R)

|| Rām 1 11 6 9 See also 11 8

of Kekayi Lomapada the king of Anga, the kings to the east of Sindhusauvira and Surashtra, and the kings of the south, who must consequently be supposed to have been followers of the Aryan faith * Thousands of Bráhmans were feasted separately The king, bent on increasing his family, presented on that occasion the east country to the Hotri, the west to the Adhvaryu, the south to the Bráhman, and the north to the Udgatṛi, but these classes of priests devoted to the study of the Veda refused this offering, accepting however 'a million of cows, a hundred millions of (pieces of) gold and four times as many pieces of silver In addition to this he gave ten millions (of the gold) of Jambunada to the Bráhmans in general † A somewhat similar liberality was shown by him on the occasion of the marriage of his four sons, when he gave the Bráhmans four hundred thousand cows ‡ Of even this liberality, the rich Bráhmans are represented as scarcely standing in need Vasishtha is made to decline for his cow Shabala (which yielded according to desire) an offer from Vishvamitra of fourteen thousand elephants, with

* Some have supposed that the Surashtra and Sauvira here mentioned were contiguous countries but this was not the case Sita in resisting the addresses of Havana (Rám. iii 53 56) alludes to their distance from one another as an illustration of the distance between him and Ráma her husband in her estimation Surashtra was in the peninsula of Kathiawád and Sauvira (or Sindhu-Sauvira) a district on the Indus far to the east The Bráhmans of Sehwan (the Sindomana of Alexander's historians) identify their town with Sindhu Sauvira, but erroneously, as it is comparatively near Surashtra

† Ram. i 12 12 et. seq Compare both recensions

‡ Rám. i 74 28 9

golden appurtenances, eight hundred golden chariots, with four white horses for each, one thousand and ten horses of good birth by country and family, and ten millions of cows of various colours and hues * This cow, Shabala, the creation of the ingenuity of the Brahmans seems to have had great regard for the glory of Bráhmans, for she says to her owner 'A Kshatriya's power, it is said, is not so powerful as that of a Brahman, which being the power of the Brahma is divine and greater than that of the Kshatra † An extraordinary conflict is represented as having been maintained between Vishvámitra and Vashishtha, which ended in the former performing most extraordinary austerities to obtain the Brahmanhood which the earlier traditions of the Hindus represent him as having acquired ‡ Bhagiratha the son of Dilipa is exhibited as performing austerities for the descent of the Ganges, for a thousand years, surrounded in the hot season with five fires and in the cold lying in water, according to the ordinances (found in Manu) § Allusions are made in it to the destruction in a former age of the Kshatriyas by Parashuráma, the son of Jamadagni, because of their opposition to the Brahmans || Dasharatha, on his sending his son Bharata to his grandfather, thus counsels him —“ Be thou modest and pious and humble, O my son, by every endeavour seek to please the Brahmans devoted to the work of the Shruti and exerting themselves in service Ask thou counsel of them, let

* Rám 1 54 19 22

† Ib 1 50 14

‡ Rámáyana 1 54 67 See on this Muir's Texts, 1 98 110

§ Ram 1 44 9-12 See before, p 34

|| Ram 1 76 21 et seq

then counsel be received by thee as the elixir of immortality. They are the root of prosperity and glory. The Brahmans, the utterers of the brahma, are necessary in every ceremonial institute. The gods O son O most wise have, for maintaining the existence of men, assumed the abode of humanity becoming gods on earth, the twice born. To them belong the Védas, the Dharmashastra, the disciplinary Institutes, the Niti-shastra, and the science of Archery * The Brahmans are set forth as deeply lamenting for Rama when ordered by his father to take up his abode in the wilderness, and when they followed him on foot, it is said, he would not ride † Dasha-ratha, his father, who also accompanied him to Chitrakuta, is made to express to one of his wives his deep penitence for having killed a boy who appeared to be of the Brahmanical race, and he was comforted by the youth saying, "I am not of the twice-born, throw aside the fear of (having committed) Brahmacide I was produced by a Brahman on a female Shudra living in the wilderness ‡ The property as well as the life of a Brahman is represented as sacred, by Bharata, when he complains of Ráma having been sent by his father into the wilderness § Ráma's success in war is attributed more to the bows arrows, scimitars and other weapons which he received from the Rishis and other Brahmans than to any portion of the divinity which he is represented as possessing ||

* Rám i 79, 16-20

† Rám ii 43

‡ Ram ii 66 48

§ Rám ii 74 53

|| Ram i 30 et in al loc

The honour of the Brâhmins is set forth as one of the grand duties of morality which are thus spoken of —

सत्यं च धर्मं च पराक्रमं च
भूतानुकृत्या प्रियवादिता च ।
द्विजतिवेचतितिथिषुद्वन् च
पत्न्यानसाहुस्त्रिविवस्य सन्त

"The sages say that truth, and religion, and valor and tenderness for living beings, and affectionate speech, and the service or worship of the twice-born, the gods, and guests, form the path which leads to heaven" * Here the Brâhmins take precedence of the gods

Little is found in the Ramayana about the distinctive position of the *Kshatriyas*. It must be remembered however, that the grand object of the poem is the laudation of the princes of Ayodhyâ in the use of their Kshatra, or power. The *Kshatriyas*, it shows us, formed the leaders of armies. Bah, or Vali a monkey prince when expostulating with Rama for wounding him with an arrow not in fair fight, says to him, ' Composedness, liberality, self confidence, forgiveness, truthfulness, boldness, steadiness, and the disposition to punish transgressors are the qualities of the Kshatra. The same quadrumanous

* Râm. n 118 32 The moral teachings of this chapter are much superior to those of the professed law books. The following lines (verses 13 14) are excellent —

धर्मं सत्यपरो लोके मूलं धर्मस्य सत्यता ॥
सत्यमेवशरो लोके सत्ये श्रीनियत त्विता ।
सत्यं सत्यप्रतिष्ठानं तस्मात् सत्यपरो भवेत् ॥

teacher gives him the following instruction agreeable to the Law Books —“The destroyer of kings, of Brāhmans and of cows, the thief, the life-taker, the atheist and the younger brother who marries before the elder go to hell. My skin is not fit to be worn by saints. What will you do with my bones? My flesh is not to be ate by a Brāhma chari like thyself. O descendant of Raghu, there are five classes (of animals) with five nails which are not to be ate by Brāhmans and Kshatriyas. The hare, porcupine, guana, crocodile, and tortoise are these five. These other five have been mentioned (by law) to me as inedible—the jackal, crocodile, monkey kinnara, and man.* Munis do not touch either my skin or bones. My flesh is not to be ate by saints, I am of the five-nailed † Lakshmana, the brother of Rama, when instructing Sugrīva, the brother and successor of Bali, seems to have made a return for this information, for he repeats this Shloka on the authority of Brahma —‘For the slayer of a Brāhma, for the drinker of intoxicants, for the thief, and for the breaker of vows an atonement (*nishkṛiti*‡) is prescribed, but for ingratitude there is no atonement §

Though the authors of the Rāmayana speak of the *Vāshyas* and *Shūdras* as having their respective functions

* The word for man here is *nara*, coupled with *vanara* (monkey)—the man of the woods,—according to the native etymologists

† Rām iv 16 22, 30 34

‡ Literally a doing away. The word is used in Marāthī as well as in Sanskrit and is often nearer the idea of ‘atonement’ than *prāyaschitta* the meaning of which frequently is “penance, or “penitence”

§ ब्रह्ममे च सुरामे च चौरे भग्नप्रते तथा निष्कृतौर्विहिता राजन् कृतमेव नास्ति निष्कृति Rām iv 34 1-

vakarma), they did not, it appears to me, seek to recognize any such subordination of castes and ranks indeed on diversities of occupation as has been exhibited later times. In the ninetieth chapter of the *Ayodhyā-āndā*, the inhabitants of the city of Ayodhya are presented as going out with Bharata in the following order,—to seek Rāma that he might occupy the throne after his father Dasharatha's death. I give their designations in the singular for the sake of convenience though the plural is used by the poet.

<i>ankara</i>	Jeweller	25 <i>Bandī</i> ,†	Panegyrist
<i>imbhādṛa</i>	Po ter	26 <i>Varata</i>	Varata ‡
<i>intrakarmak</i> <i>it</i>	Mechanician	27 <i>Vautrakṛta</i> ,	Worker in withes
<i>tropajīvī</i>	Man of arms	28 <i>Gāndhīka</i>	Compounder of perfumes.
<i>yūrīka</i>	Peacock keeper	29 <i>Panīka</i>	Dealer in drinks
<i>titrīka</i>	Partridge keeper	30 <i>Pravādīka</i>	Garment maker
<i>śidāha</i>	Borer (as of pearls wood etc.)	31 <i>Sutrahādra</i>	Carpenter §
<i>śaka</i>	Splitte	32 <i>Shilpopī</i>	Artisan
<i>takara</i> ,	Ivory worker *	33 <i>Hirṇyakāra</i>	Worker in gold
<i>śakara</i>	Dealer in nectar	34 <i>Vriddhyopāyī</i>	Usurer
<i>śhepajīvī</i>	Perfumer	35 <i>Prabādīka</i> ,	Worker in cor 1
<i>śakura</i> ,	Goldsmith.	36 <i>Shaukarīka</i> ,	Pork-dealer
<i>śadha ala</i>	Metallic-burnisher	37 <i>Matsyopāyī</i> :	Fishmonger
<i>śa</i>	Bather	38 <i>Mālavāpa</i>	Planter
<i>śaka</i>	Dresser	39 <i>Kansyakāra</i> ,	Brazier
<i>śī</i>	Physician	40 <i>Chitralādra</i>	Painter
<i>śaka</i>	Distiller	41 <i>Dhanjavikṛtyāka</i>	Grain dealer
<i>śī</i> ,	Incense dealer	42 <i>Panyavikrī</i>	Huckster
<i>śī</i> ,	Washerman	43 <i>Phalopajī</i>	Fruit-seller
<i>śī</i> ,	Weaver	44 <i>Pushpapajī</i>	Flower seller
<i>śī</i> ,	Actor	45 <i>Lepālādra</i>	Plasterer
<i>śī</i> ,	Encomiast	46 <i>Sthapatāya</i>	Architect
<i>śī</i> ,	Sūta	47 <i>Takshāya</i>	Carpenter
<i>śī</i> ,	Māghada	48 <i>Kurayāntrīka</i>	Instrument-maker

toothwo ker

† Probably the equal of Bandījan

‡ The designation of the Varata (man of a particular race) is unknown

My cords instead of nala, seems judging from the etymology of his name, to have really his wont

49 <i>Nivapaka</i>	Seedsman	70 <i>Arak tak ita</i> ,	Brass founder
50 <i>Ishtakakaraka</i>	Br ckmaker	71 <i>Tampibuta[krat]</i>	Copper founder
51 <i>Dadhimodakdha</i>	Cheesemake	72 <i>Svastikira</i>	Maker-of figures (on floors etc)
52 <i>M lakara</i>	Gardener		
53 <i>Changerska vik rayi</i>	Seller of wood sor rel *	73 <i>Keshakdra</i>	H a rdresser
54 <i>Munsopaj vi,</i>	Flesher	74 <i>Bhaktopasddha</i>	Boiler (Cook)
55 <i>Patl kdvapaka</i>	Planter-of the Lodhi-tree †	75 <i>Bishtakdha</i>	Frier (Cook)
56 <i>Churnopajvli</i>	Seller of powders.	76 <i>Shaktukdra</i>	Baker
57 <i>Kdrpdsvka</i>	Cotton dealer (or teaser)	77 <i>Shddvika</i>	Confectione
58 <i>Dhanushkdra</i>	Maker of bows	78 <i>Khandakdra</i>	Lealer in-candied- sugar
59 <i>Sut avirayi</i>	Thread-seller	79 <i>Vdn jaka</i>	Merchant
60 <i>Shastrakarma krt</i>	Armourer	80 <i>Kachakdra</i>	Cutter of crystal or glassmaker
61 <i>K' dakk a,</i>	Betelnut seller	81 <i>Chatr kdra</i>	Umbrella maker
62 <i>Tambul ka</i>	Leaf seller	82 <i>Vedhakashodha</i>	Refiner
63 <i>Chitrabhayan</i>	Draftsman	83 <i>Khandasantha</i>	Maker of inla d work.
64 <i>Charmakdra</i>	Currier	84 <i>Timropajvli</i>	Coppersmith
65 <i>Lohokdra</i>	Blacasmith	85 <i>Shre, mahattara</i>	Chief-of a guild.
66 <i>Shaluk shalaya karta</i>	Maker of-darts and javelins	86 <i>Grmaghorshama</i>	Chief of the town
67 <i>T laghata</i>	Destroye -of poi sons	87 <i>Shashsha</i>	herds
68 <i>Bh tayrahar dhyna</i>	Exorcist	88 <i>Dyutavaitanska</i>	Player (or Lum bler)
69 <i>Bdhanamch Lit sak</i>	I hys cian for chil dron		Dice player

‘Followers of each occupation it is added, ‘and all other dealers, in the city crowded together, except those who were sick, old, and young Brahmins, who were pure, versed in the Védas, and distinguished, thousands in number came along behind Bharata, who proceeded with his luggage loaded on bullocks. † To these Bráhmins he had given abundant largesses on the occasion of his having performed the first funeral obsequies (*shráddha*) of his

Probabl s last g th teeth

† For what use

‡ Kim 90 In the northern (Bombay edition, n 83
to 161) the on the and world from t nth n

ather Vasishtha advised him to occupy the throne promising that the people of the north, west, and south, the Keralas (the people of the Konkan and Malabar), the Dandadharas, and the dwellers on the coast of the ocean would bring him gems (in token of subjection) *

In the list above-quoted there can be nothing more than an attempt to represent the occupations of the times of Rama, to which the poem is posterior. Whether or not it belonged to the poem in its original form, it is impossible to say. It shows an advanced state of society, as far as diversities of occupation are concerned. What is most worthy of notice in it is, that the professionists which it enumerates are mentioned seemingly without any reference to the rank usually recognized in caste arrangements. Many of them, it is obvious must have belonged to the Aryan race.

The Rāmayana mentions some of the aboriginal tribes of India with greater respect than that accorded to them in Manu. Rama in an early stage of his wanderings near the Ganges met "the virtuous Guhī, the beloved chief of the Nishadas" †. The occurrence of the Nishadas at this place seems to indicate that the progress of the Aryan race in the eastern country was still but limited ‡. The forest tribes represented by Hanuman Sugrīva, etc. were his great auxiliaries in his alleged journey to Lanka. The *Palas* *Shalas* (Sacae Scythians) *Yavanas* (Iones or Greeks) *Kambojas* *Varvatas* (Bubaroi) *Haritas* *Kirā*

* I am n. 88 7

† गहमासाद्य धम्मान्मा निशादाभिपन्ने १५४ लाम १ १ २९ Bombay ed at m १८ loc

‡ For 1 amas intercourse with Guhī see I am n. १२ Gol

tus, and *Mlechchas* are spoken of as most valiant, though most impure peoples, in the narrative of the contests between Vaishnava and Vishvamitra in the first book. The *Chandulas* (the Gondaloi of Ptolemy*) are more than once mentioned as conveying defilement to those coming in contact with them. The sons, or disciples of Vasishtha, are represented as asking in opposition to Vishvamitra originally a Kshatriya how the gods can eat the sacrifice when it is offered by a Kshatriya officiating as a priest (*yajala*) for a Chandala, and how Brahmans after eating the food of a Chandala can go to heaven purified by Vishvamitra †. Yet Rama is said to have called the chief of the twice born (the Brahmans) to kindle the fire of the Homa, to repeat mantras, to scatter the Kusha grass and to offer clarified butter to the fire on the occasion of the instalment on the throne of the monkey Bahl who did not recover from the wound of his arrow.‡

The most extensive allusions to the provinces, tribes, and nations of India which the *Ramayana* contains are made in the orders issued by Sugriva to his monkey-hosts to search for Sita after her abduction by Ravana. Connected with the East mention is made (in addition to that of mythical beings) of the Shikas, Pulindas, and Kalingas, of the Sumbhas, Videhas, Kashikoshalas, Magadhas, Dandakulas, Vangas and Angas and of the Knatis, the black-mouthed Pukas and Kurbukas. Connected with the South are noticed the Mekelas, Utkalas, Chedis, Dishiias

* Ptol. Ceo. vii.

† Ram. 59. 11. 10. See on this Muir's Texts, i. p. 102.

‡ 1. on. iv. 2, 27, 28.

Kukuras, *Antarvédas*, the *Bhojas*, *Pándyas*, the *Vidai-bhas*, *Rishikas*, *Ashmakas*, *Pulindas*, and *Kalingas*, the *Aundras* (*Andhras* ²), the *Dravidas*, *Pundras*, *Cholas*, and *Keralas* Connected with the West reference is made to the *Surashtras*, *Valhikas* *Bhadras* and *Abhíras*, the *Suvíras* *Anhias*, and *Kolukas*, the *Kaikeyas*, *Sindhushauvías*, *Anarttas*, the inhabitants of *Maru*^{*} and *Anumarni*, the *Shuríbhíras*, the *Pahlavas*, and the inhabitants of the *Panchanada*, *Kashmir* the city of *Takshashila*, *Shalaka*, and the *Shalvas* Connected with the North, are mentioned the *Matsyas*, *Pulindas*, *Shúrasénas*, the *Pracharas*, the *Bhadrakas*, the *Kurus* and *Madrakas*, the *Gandharas*, the *Yavanas*, *Shakas*, *Odras*, *Paradis*, *Vallukas*, *Pauváras*, *Kunkaras*, *Chinas*, and *Aparchínas*, the *Tukharas*, *Vaiyáras* (or *Barbaras*), *Kan bojas*, and *Daradas* the *Kiratas* *Tankanas*, *Bhadras* and *Pashupalas*, and the *Uttara Kurus* ³ The portion of the poem in which these names occur is probably one of its later sections

Rama on recovering his wife, and abandoning her from suspicion after she had passed through the ordeal of fire, and being inaugurated is made to give to the *Brahmans* "thousands of thousands of cows, hundreds of hundreds of bulls, 30,000,000 goldings, conveyances food, clothes, beds and couches, and very many villages" [†]

The *Ramayana* so interesting in a literary point of view ends with the glorification of the *Brahmans*, whose exaltation was ever in the view of its authors

* Also *vi. 11. 12* *Mirabhu*

† *Ram. iv. 40 41 43 44*

‡ *Ram. vi. 112 84 f*

2 The *Mahābhārata*, to which we now proceed, is a work of great size. It is generally spoken of as containing 100,000 stanzas, but this was certainly not its original bulk. The first printed edition [published at Calcutta] writes Professor H. H. Wilson, "contains 107,389 shlokas, but this comprises the supplement called *Harivansha*, the stanzas of which are 16,374, and which is certainly not a part of the original *Mahabharata*." In its first chapter it is represented as repeated by the Sauti (or Suta) Ugrashava, the son of Lomaharshana, to the Rishis of the Numsha forest. It is attributed to Krishna Dvarpayana, or Vyasa ("the extender"), who is said to have comprehended it, in its first edition, in 24,000, stanzas, but without the *Upakhyanas* ('inferior narratives') devoted to the gods, *pitrīs* (ancestral manes), *Gandharvas*, and men, which when added raised it to 100,000 †. It is said to have been communicated by Narada to the Gods, by Dévala to the *Pitrīs*, by Shuka to the *Gandharvas*, and by Vasampayana, (who heard it from his master it a sacrifice of king Janamejaya, the disciple of Vyasa,) to Men. It is said of it that some Brahmins commence it with the word *Manu* some with *āstika*, and some with *upasichara*, ‡. In all probability the editions of it have been numerous, episodes and interpolations having been added to it at various times, by Brahmanical agreement. Its name, according to some, means, "of-great-weight", and according to others, who are probably right in their opinion, "what-pertains-to-the-great-(king)-Bharati" Vyasa to

* Introduction to Johnson's Selections from the *Mahābhārata*

† *Mahab.* 1. 1. 101 (p. 4)

‡ *Mahab.* 1. 52 (p. 8).

whom its original authorship is assigned, is said to have been the half brother of Vichitravírya (of the Lunar Race of kings) by whose widowed wives (Ambar and Ambalika) he had two sons Pandu and Dhritarashtra.* Pandu had five sons, called the Pándavas—Yuddhishthira, Bhima and Arjuna by his wife Pritha, and Nakula and Sahadeva by his wife Mádri. Dhritarashtra had the parentage of a hundred sons ascribed to him, collectively called the Kauravas as descended from king Kuru, of whom Duryodhana the eldest was the most distinguished. The subject of the poem of the Mahabharata is a war for sovereignty,—the possession of the throne of Hastinapura,—between the Pandavas and Kauravas, now mentioned.

The story of the "Mahabharata is divided into eighteen Parvas or "Segments, —the Adi, Sabha, Vana, Viráta, Udyoga, Bhishma, Diona, Karna, Shalya, Saupatika, Strí, Shanti, Anushashana, Ashvamedha, Ashramavasika, Mausala, Mahaprasthana, and Svargarohana,—to the general contents of which it is proper for us to allude, for the sake of marking the position of the information which they afford on the subject of caste.

(1) The *Adi* Parva (or Parvva) the Introductory Section, notices the general circumstances of the parties with whom the Great War originated. Pandu, "the Pale," was, on account of his pallor (perhaps intimating as supposed by Professor H. H. Wilson a leprous taint)

* Krishna Dvaipáyana is said to have been the son of the Sage Paráshara by Satyavati before her marriage to Shantanu, the king of Hastinapura. Vichitravírya, the son of Shantanu, dying without issue, Vyasa, according to the legends of the times, raised up by

held incapable of succession to the throne. He consequently retired to the Himalaya mountains where his sons were born to him or (according to the legends) produced through his wives by various of the gods. On his death they were introduced, at Hastinapura to their uncle Dhritarastra, who on being ultimately satisfied about their origin, took them under his care, and educated them with his own sons who treated them with jealousy and dislike, setting fire on one occasion to the house in which they resided with their mother Pritha. The Pandavas, warned by this opposition, secreted themselves in the forests and disguised themselves as Brahmins. It was only when they heard of the *svayamvara* (or the choice of a husband after public trial of capacity and piowess) of Draupadi the daughter of Drupada, king of Panchala in which they were successful, that they were again revealed in their own character.* It is curious to observe the alleged polyandry of their common wife, which is in accordance with customs still existing in Malabar and Travancore, the South west of India.

(2) In the *Sabha* or Court Parva various movements at Hastinapura are recorded. Dhritarastra, hearing of the success of the Pandavas sent for them, and divided the sovereignty between them and his sons, Yudhishthira and his brethren reigning at Indraprastha, and Dur-

* For a spirited poetical translation of the Passage of Arms, by Prof H H Wilson see Quart. Or Mag. March 1825. The passage of Arms was at Panchala, and not at Hastinapur as mentioned in the title of this translation.

yodhana and his brethren reigning at Hastinápura, at no great distance from one another. Jealousies and strifes were the consequence of this arrangement. Yudhishthira, aided by his brothers, brought many of the inferior princes of India under his sway. He then engaged in celebrating the ceremonial of the Rajasuya—in establishment of his pre-eminence,—at which these princes did him obeisance. The sons of Dhritarashtra, disliking his honours, but feigning a wish to promote the amusement going on, challenged him to a game, resembling backgammon, at which he lost to Duryodhana his all—including his kingdom, wife, brothers, and himself. These were again restored to him on the intercession of Dhritarashtra, but, on a second adventure he incurred the penalty of passing, with his brothers and their common wife Draupadi, twelve years in the forests and an additional year in absolute obscurity with liability to renewal of the whole period in case of their discovery in this interval.

(3) In the *Vana*, or Forest, Parva, we have an account of the incidents which befell the Pandavas in their banishment.

(4) The *Viráta* Parva brings to notice the intercommunication of the Pandavas with Viráta, king of Matsyadesha, to whom they revealed themselves after the completion of the period of their exile, and whose assistance they secured to avenge their wrongs.

(5) The *Udyoga* Parva, or Chapter of Endeavour, relates the preparations made by both sides for the terrible war which was to follow. The assistance of king Krishna, said to be an Avatar or Incarnation of Vishnu, was soli-

cited by both parties to whom he was related in blood. He gave Duryodhana the choice either of his own personal assistance, or of that of his army. His military force was preferred. In consequence of this he was left free to give himself to the Pandavas, to whose cause, as the story goes, and as the charioteer of Arjuna, he gave invaluable assistance, although he afterwards had his own difficulties in battle with Jarasandha and other foes.

(6) The *Bhishma* Parva derives its name from Bhishma, the son of Shantanu by Ganga, or the Ganges. He was the paternal uncle of Dhritarashtra, owing to whose blindness he acted as regent while his grand-nephews were under age. Though he did not approve of the conduct of Duryodhana to his cousins, he espoused the cause of the Kauravas. In the first series of battles to which the sixth parva is mainly devoted, he commanded the forces of Duryodhana. He was wounded in fight. Of the battles which took place under him and the generals by whom he was succeeded, it is correctly said, "Some of these are very Homeric but, in general, the interest of the narrative is injured by repetition, and the battles are spoiled by the introduction of supernatural weapons, which leaves little credit to the hero who vanquishes by their employment."*

7 The *Drona* Parva is named from Drona, the military preceptor of both the Kauravas and Pandavas, who succeeded Bhishma as commander of the forces of the Kauravas, and proved a most competent warrior.

* Prof H H Wilson's Preface to Johnson's Selections from the *Mahabharata*

WIIAI CASTE IS

Parva makes us acquainted with the same side of Karna said to be the son, and of Priti before her marriage the jealousy of his brethren who ard which is assigned as the reason e cause of their adversaries He is ng of Anga

Parva gets its name from Shalya successor of Karna It was when Duryodhana was killed by Bhima in Gadas, or maces of a formidable

Parva, or Section of Sleep is named sick made on the Pandavas in the he owed much to Krishna their ally Female, Parva is named from the males over the slain on both sides leaders of the war as nearly over

It contains some passages chn and tenderness

Parva is the section of Consolation A great deal of the Hindu teach- lutes of kings and the means of re births, put into the mouth of n it a place It has evidently re- lations

ashana Parva or Section of Law es, the speaker also being Bhima principal listener being Yudhishthira are enlivened by tales and fables ustom

(14) The *Ashvamedha* or Horse-sacrifice Parva, gives us an account of the great ceremonial of Yudhishthira, on his attaining to acknowledged sovereignty

(15) The *Ashvamedha Parva*, or Section of the-Refuge, shows us Dhritarashtra, his wife Gandhari (the daughter of the king of Gandhara), and their companions retiring to a hermitage and there dying

16 The *Mausala* Parva, or Section of-the-Club, narrates the destruction of the race of Yadu of the Lunar line, including that of Krishna, one of its members, which was followed by the submergence of Dvarika, his ultimate capital

The denomination and contents of the two remaining books we mention in the words of Professor H. H. Wilson —

17 "The seventeenth Book called the *Mahaprasthamaka* or Great-Journey witnesses the abdication of his hardly won throne, by Yudhishthira and the departure of himself his brothers and Draupadi to the Himalaya, on their way to the holy mount Meru. As they proceed the influence of former evil deeds proves fatal and each in succession drops dead by the way side, until Yudhishthira, and a dog that followed them from Hastinapura are the only survivors. Indra comes to convey the prince to Svarga, or Indra's heaven, but Yudhishthira refuses to go thither, unless

Admitted to that equal sky,
His faithful dog shall bear him company,

and Indra is obliged to comply

18 "The eighteenth Book the *Sangarohana* [the Departure-to-Heaven] introduces Yudhishthira in his bodily

form to heaven. To his great dismay he finds there Dur-yodhana and the other sons of Dhritarashtra, but sees none of his own friends, his brothers, or Draupadi. He demands to know where they are and refuses to stay in Svarga without them. A messenger of the gods is sent to show him where his friends are, and leads him to the fauces graveolentis Averni, where he encounters all sorts of disgusting and terrific objects. His first impression is to turn back but he is arrested by the wailings of well remembered voices imploring him to remain, as his presence has already alleviated their torture. He overcomes his repugnance and resolves to share the fate of his friends in health rather than abide with their enemy in heaven. This is his crowning trial. The gods come and applaud his disinterested virtue. All the horrors that had formerly beset his path, vanish and his friends and kindred are raised along with him to Svarga, where they become again the celestial personages that they originally were, and which they had ceased to be for a season, in order to descend along with Krishna in human forms amongst mankind and co-operate with him in relieving the world from the tyranny of those evil beings, who were oppressing the virtuous and propagating impiety in the characters of Dur-yodhana, his brothers, and their allies. *

On the Harivansha, which is a supplement to the Mahabharata we do not at present say anything.

In examining the Mahabharata in connexion with the subject of our inquiry, we find a very decided social and poetical exaltation of caste, some historical traces of the manner in which it acquired its ultimate establishment

* Preface to Johnson's Selections from the Mahabharata

and some curious theoretical speculations as to its origin. It is convenient to refer to it in the order of its books now mentioned.

(1) In the first section we have an account of a struggle of the Brāhmans with the Kshatriyas which, though of a wild character, may be noticed as illustrative of the enmity which then mutual contests for supremacy during the rise of the caste system must often have generated. I insert the accurate abstract of it given by Mr. Muir — ‘There was a king named Kūṭavnyū, by whose liberality the Bhūigus, learned in the Vedas, who officiated as his priests had been greatly enriched with corn and money. After he had gone to heaven, his descendants were in want of money, and came to beg for a supply from the Bhrigus, of whose wealth they were aware. Some of the latter hid their money under ground others bestowed it on Brāhmans, being afraid of the Kshatriyas while others again gave these last what they wanted. It happened, however, that a Kshatriya, while digging the ground, discovered the money concealed in the house of a Bhūigu. The Kshatriyas then assembled and saw this treasure and slew in consequence, all the Bhūigus, down to the children in the womb. The widows however, fled to the Himālaya mountains. One of them concealed her unborn child in her thigh. The Kshatriyas hearing of its existence sought to kill it, but it issued forth with a lustre which blinded the persecutors. They, now humbled supplicated the mother of the child for the restoration of their sight, but she referred them to her wondrous infant Aurora into whom the whole Veda, with its six Vedāngas * had entered.)

as the person who had robbed them of their sight, (in retaliation of the slaughter of his relatives), and who alone could restore it. They accordingly had recourse to him, and their eyesight was restored. Aurva, however, meditated the destruction of all living creatures, in revenge for the slaughter of the Bhrigus, but his progenitors (pitris) themselves appeared, and sought to turn him from his purpose by saying that they had no desire to be revenged on the Kshatriyas, 'whose violence the devout Bhrigus had not overlooked from weakness but had rather sought to provoke, by concealing their money, (for which in view of heaven, they cared nothing,) in order, when weary of life, to bring about their own destruction by the hands of those irritated warriors, that so they might be exalted the sooner to paradise. Destroy not the Kshatriyas O son they concluded, nor the seven worlds, abandon your kindled wrath which nullifies the power of austerity. Aurva however urged against this clemency on grounds of justice and policy, and urged that his wrath if it found no other vent, would consume himself. He was, however, at length persuaded by the pitris to throw it into the sea where it found exercise in assailing the watery element —

'Having become the great Huy ishiras, known to those who are acquainted with the Veda which vomits forth that fire, and drinks up the waters * This legendary, the object of which is apparent appears in various other forms in the Mahábhárata and other works. The phosphorescence of the sea, seen when ships move along, is pointed to, even in the present day, as the flashings of the Aurvagni or submarine fire of Aurva.

* Mahábhárata I. v 6802, &c seq. Muir's Texts I pp 152

The celebration of the glory (māhatmya) of Brahmins is said to be one of the objects of the Mahabharata itself* Desiring the favour of Brahma and the Brahmins it is said Vyasa formed the divisions of the Vedas, wherefore he is called Vyasa the Divider †

Without reference to the alleged origin of the castes from the bodily members of the divinity it is said that 'the known mental sons of Brahma are the six Maharsi Marichi, Atri, Angiras, Pulasty, Pulaha, and Kasyapa' ‡ From these Maharsi according to the context all created beings have sprung

Concerning the eight kinds of marriage prescribed in the Smriti—the Brahman, Daiva, Arsha, Prajapati, Asura, Gandharva, Rakshasa and Pasiucha it is said that the first four of them become the Brahman, the first six the Kshatriya, the Rakshasa, a king, and the Pasiucha the Vitas and Shudras §

The Brahman it is said 'is the chief of bipeds the cow is the highest of quadrupeds, the guru is the chief of those that are venerable, and a son is the chief of those that are delectable || Yet, in the context it is said that "The Kshatra was created by the Brahma, and the Brahma was formed by the Kshatra ¶ Perhaps in the latter clause the reference is to an allegation such as we find in the Chhandogya Upamhad, that Brahma, viewed in the Vedantic sense of the 'science-of soul,'

* M Bl. 1 v 2316

† Ib. v 2417

‡ Ib. v 2518

§ Ib. 2962 o

|| M Bl. 1 1011

* सप्तशु ब्राह्मण भत्र शत्रुण साहन Ib. v 3577

particularly as connected with a future state originated with the Kshatriyas * Such an origination of this species of learning is by no means improbable the Kshatriyas ultimately being freer for speculation than the Brahmins engaged in the cumbersome and minute rites and ceremonies which they succeeded in monopolizing The credit given to the Kshatriyas in this matter was counter balanced by the subsequent progress of the Brahmins in this kind of learning He who is chief among the knowers-of-Brahma, is he who excels in the use of the weapons-of-Brahma For Drona, a Brahman, superiority even in valour was claimed †

In a passage, quoted by Mr Muir, " The Yavanas are said to be descended from Turvasu, the Vaibhojas from Druhyu, and the Mlechcha tribes from Anu ‡ Remarks

* The pre-eminence of the Kshatriya in the case of research as to soul is several times brought to notice in the Chhāndogya Upanishad Mr Rajendralal Mitra, in the introduction to his edition and translation of this ancient piece says (pp 25-26) " In explaining these attributes of Om several anecdotes are related, in one of which (v 8) a Kshatriya takes precedence of two Brahmins in explaining the subject of their discourse Similar precedence is given to the Kshatriyas in sections 3rd and 11th of the fifth chapter, and in the Katha and Vñhad Aranyaka Upanishads Nor does this precedence appear to be accidental Praváhana, King of Panchala (ch v sect 3) goes the length of asserting that the knowledge of man's lot hereafter was first attained by his own caste" In reply to a question from a Brahman he says Since you have thus inquired, and inasmuch as no Brahman knew it before, hence of all people in the world the Kshatriyas alone have the right of imparting instruction on this subject

† M Bh 1. v 6379

‡ Muir, 1. p. 178 M Bh. 1 v 3533

thus kind, however, are probably speculative for the
one, and not historical.

The Rishi Vasiṣṭha is (probably fictionally) associated with the Bháratas as their family priest. He is presented as installing Samvarana as monarch of the shatriya race, to be a horn (of power) over the whole earth, by the simple repetition of the syllable Om *.

The co-operative subordination of the four Castes is said to have been observed in the reign of Shantanu †. The Nishádas found by the Pandavas and Kauravas, on their going out to hunt, are said to have been so black in their skin and hair that the dogs began to bark at them, and to have been particularly keen in hearing ‡. This is an indication of their long residence in India, and their comparatively uncivilized state.

Suicide is declared to be less heinous than Brahmicide, for which there is no atonement (*nishkruti*) §.

A curious legend is related at length to enhance the worth and might of the Brahman Vasiṣṭha and to deprecate his rival Viṣhvámitra, of whom we have already given various notices. We take the following extracts of it from Mr. Muir's Texts, adopting his excellent translation. Having gained this great and self-restraining personage (Vasiṣṭha), it is said, "the Kings of Ikshvaku's race acquired the dominion of the earth. Possessing this excellent Rishi, Vasiṣṭha, for their priest, they offered sacrifice. This Brahman-rishi performed sacrificial rites for all those monarchs, as Vrihaspati does for the immortals. Therefore let some desirable Bráhman, endowed with

* M. Bh. i. 3731, sq. See on this, Muir, i. p. 135.

† M. Bh. i. v. 3977-8. ‡ Ib. v. 4249. § M. Bh. i. v. 6227.

good qualities, whose chief characteristic is religion, and who is skilled in Vedic observances, be selected as a family priest. Let a well-born Kshatriya, who wishes to subdue the earth, first appoint a priest in order to acquire dominion." The story goes on to speak of the cow of Vasishtha. Vishvamitra offered 'a hundred millions of cows, or his kingdom, as her price. His offer was rejected. He then said, 'He was a Kshatriya, and Vasishtha a Brahman, whose function was devotion and study, one of a class who were gentle and destitute of power,—and that as his offer was refused, he would act agreeably to the character of his caste, and take the cow by force. Vasishtha told him to do as he proposed without loss of time. Vishvamitra seized the cow, but she would not move from the hermitage, though violently beaten with whip and stick, and demanded of Vasishtha why he did not help her'.*

In the same parva there occurs another legend connected with the parties now mentioned, in which some curious illustrations are given of Brahmanical demands and exactions. Vasishtha was the priest of king Kalmashapada, son of Sudasa of the race of Ikshvaku, an office desired also by Vishvamitra. The king, when out hunting, desired Shaktri, the eldest of Vasishtha's hundred sons to get out of the road. "The king must according to all the principles of law cede the path to the Brahman," was the reply. The king did not yield, but struck the Brahman with his whip. The Brahman, in return, laid a curse upon the king, that he should become a The king was ultimately however about to give way, when Vishvamitra, who was passing

by, put a Rakshasa into him, who urged him to mischief. The king sent some human flesh to a poor Brahman, who also laid his curse upon him to the intent that he should become a man-eater. He consequently began his work by devouring all the children of Vasishtha, beginning with the oldest. Vasishtha attempted to destroy himself instead of destroying his rival Vishvāmitra. 'This divine sage hurled himself from the summit of Meru, but fell upon the rocks as if on a heap of cotton. Escaping alive from his fall he entered a glowing fire in the forest, but the fire though fiercely blazing, not only failed to burn him, but seemed perfectly cool. He next threw himself into the sea with a heavy stone attached to his neck but was cast up by the waves on the dry land. He then went home to his hermitage, but seeing it empty and desolate, he was again overcome by grief, and binding himself with bonds he threw himself into the river Vipasha which was swollen by the rains, and was sweeping along many trees torn from its banks, but the river severing his bonds, deposited him unbound (Vipasha), whence the name of the stream, as imposed by the sage. He afterwards threw himself into the *Shatadru* (Sutlej), which derived its name from rushing away in a hundred directions on seeing the Brahman brilliant as fire. In consequence of this he was once more stranded. After roaming about over many countries and forests, he again returned to his hermitage, and finding that his daughter-in-law Adrisyanti (Sakti's widow) was pregnant (with a child who, when born, received the name of Purashara), and that there was thus a hope of his lineage being continued he

abstained from further attempts on his own life. King Kalmashapada, whom they beheld in the forest, was about to devour them both when Vasishtha stopped him by a blast from his mouth, and sprinkling him with water, consecrated by a holy text he delivered him from the curse by which he had been affected for twelve years. The king then addressed Vasishtha thus 'Most excellent sage, I am Saudas, whose priest thou art. What can I do that would be pleasing to thee?' Vasishtha answered 'This which has happened has been owing to the force of destiny go and rule thy kingdom, but O monarch never contemn the Brahmans.' The king replied 'never shall I despise the most excellent Brahmans, but submitting to thy commands, I shall pay them all honor.'* In the Hindu literature there are other legends of a similar character about these personages, which it would contribute but little to our purpose here to notice in detail. The whole have originated in allusions in the Rig Véda to both Vasishtha and Vishvamitra having been family priests of king Sudasa, and at the same time having been very jealous of one another's influence and disposed to use their own power, and that of the gods whom they invoked, to do one another mischief. They testify merely to a struggle of the Brhmans with the Kshatriyas in the establishment of their priestly monopoly,†—a struggle, the grounds of which are obvious.

(2) In the *Sabha Parva* we find a chapter‡ which

* Muir's Texts, 1 113 117 M Bh 1 v 6699 et seq

† See Texts of Mr Muir 1 95 et seq., where the legends are patiently collected and compared and accurately

throws much light on the geography of ancient India, and of the spread of the Aryas and the institutions in this great country. It is entitled *Dīgnīja* and treats of the conquest of the four quarters of the world by the brothers of Yudhishthīra and of the gifts brought to him by the nations at the time of his Rajasuya, or coronation sacrifice. It has attracted much attention from European orientalists though from the state in which the text is found, it appears to have been much neglected by native Sanskrit scholars. It has been copiously illustrated both by Professor Lassen and the late Professor H. H. Wilson * as well as compared with other portions of the *Mahābhārata* and of other literary works of the Hindus. The following findings are principally the results of the researches of Lassen. Two routes in advance offered themselves to the Aryas after their settlement in the Panjab, or Panjāb—one leading eastward in the direction of the Yamuna and Ganges and the other along the Sindhu to the ocean. The valleys of the rivers rising in the Himalaya also invited visitors and Kashmīra became an ancient seat of the Brahmanic faith. The Daradas, contiguous to this region however, follow not this law being denominated *Dasyus* in *Manu*, as well as in the *Mahabharata*. When the Aryas reached the course of the Yamuna, they found the Vindhya range with its

* See Lassen's commentaries upon it in the first and second volumes of his *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, and in his *Indische Altherthumskunde* vol. 1 p. 531 et seq. A translation of this portion of his invaluable work is given in the *Oriental Christian Spectator*, for May and June 1857 and March and April 1862. For Professor Wilson's illustrations see his *Vishnu Purāna*, pp. 179-197.

many offsets and forests Following the principal streams they reached the Sarayu and the Kaushiki where their earlier capitals Ayodhya and Mithila were founded From Madhyadesha where they now were, the roads, in progress, went either across the Vindhya, or round it on both sides Advances may also have been made by them to the west of the Aravalí range, where, near the range itself, the country is not altogether barren Surashtra, mainly the peninsula of Gujarat appears as early as the Ramayana as an Aryan country From Indraprastha on the Yamuna, a road ran to the Narmada river by way of Ujjayini, and another ran from the province of Magadha to the upper portions of the Narmada but as it passes through the wild country of the Gondas it would not be of much use to the Aryas

The Kuiandas of the western river-valleys of the Hima laya and the higher contiguous regions were, probably, at the time of the Mahabharata, an Aryan nation, never being spoken of as Dasyus, though they must have had but little contact with the Aryan civilization The regions contiguous to the western rivers may also be supposed to have been Aryan, as they were easily accessible to a spreading people Eastward from the Upper Ganges the population was non Aryan, as were the Tanganas and Kiratas of the Sarayu valley Videha and Mithila, under the Hima laya, appear, in the pilgrimages, as Aryan land On the whole, in the time of the Mahabharata, the Aryan progress had not advanced farther to the east than we find it in the Ramayana In other directions however that progress was very considerable While in the Ramayana Anga was the most south-eastern Aryan land, we find in

the Mahábhárata, powerful kings of the Pundras, the king of Madagiri, of Banga, and of Tamralipta, and even the Suhmas on the sea-shore mentioned, while it tells us that the mouths of the Ganges were frequented by pilgrims. The Brahmanic law, propagated by the Gautamas, had by this time reached the five principal nations of eastern India—the Angas, Pundras, Bangas, Suhmas, and Kalingas. The river Vaitarani, in Kalinga, is even spoken of as a holy river. The worship of Shiva is said to have prevailed in its neighbourhood. This region was not all subjected to Brahmanism. The Odras, Dravidas and Andhras appear as non Aryan. In the Ramayana the hermitage of Agastya is placed in the north of the Upper Godavari. In the Mahabharata it is said to have been found by the Pandavas at the mouth of that river. In the Mahábhárata, the tirthas of the Kumaris, or Virgins, is found at the southernmost promontory of India, still named from them Cape Comorin. The hermitages of the teachers of the Dakhan moved south with the Aryan settlements. A hermitage is spoken of as being at Gokarna on the western coast. Prabhása was also there the locality of a Brahmanical institution, but further to the north possibly in the British Konkan.* Shurparaka was a tirtha both on the western and eastern sea, in the latter case near the mouths of the Krishna.

No tirthas being mentioned as in the interior of the Dakhan we may conclude that at the time of the Mahabharata it was but little affected by Brahmanism. Mahishmati in the Maisur, furnishes auxiliaries, however,

* So, Lassen. The Brahmins of Suráshtra place it at the S W corner of the Gujarat Peninsula.

to the Kurus through its king Nila. In connexion with it, Agni is represented as granting unlimited liberty to the women of that land in the choice of a plurality of husbands, as among the well known Nairs of Malabar to the present time. The more southern part of the Dakhan is treated as a country but little known, and there the Dīg-Vijaya places the fabulous nations—the one-footed, the black-faced, etc. The known nations of the south are principally situated on the coasts, as the Keralas, Pandyas, Dravidas, Odras, and Kalingas. Vibhishana, the brother of Ravana, is spoken of as in Lankā.

The Pavoshnī, the river of hot water, of which a synonym of corresponding meaning was the Taptī, was at the period to which these notices refer rich in its Brahmanical tirthas.* Vidarbha, hodie Berar, and Khandesh, were to a certain extent Aryan though many wild tribes must then, as well as at present, have been residing within their borders. The Godavari and Bhimarathi were praised as holy rivers. Of the affluents of the Godavari however, only the Vēnva is mentioned. The rāveni is the frontier of the holy land in the direction of the Dakshinapatha, now corresponding with the Dakhan. If we sum up these inquiries says Professor Lassen, "we perceive a considerable progress in the propagation of the Aryan religion and dominion towards the south when compared with the state of things pourtrayed in the Ramāyana. The Brahmanic cultus had spread from Srāshra to Gokarna on the eastern coast not only as far as the mouths of the Ganges but as far as those of

* It was perhaps from these settlements, sacred to Agni the god of fire, that it received its name.

the Godavari, and even beyond them, the kings of Kalin-ga and Manipura obeyed the laws of the Aryan war-riors. In the interior, in the south of India, we find no more the solitary hermitages of the Ramáyana, but the banks of the Payośhni, of the Pravéni, and of the Godá-varí are studded with numerous seats of penitents, while the Aryan kings reign already in the countries to the south of the great mountains of separation, which are even traversed by caravans. Deeper in the south, however, the country is yet non Aryan, with the exception of one single region that of the Máhishikas, and this, although accepting Brahmans and their cultus, still preserves its peculiar Dakhan customs. The people of the southern most Dakhan and Ceylon have entered into intercourse with the inhabitants of the North, and have become known to them by the products of their countries. Although the conjecture that this connexion took place by sea is not confirmed by the Epos, we possess for it the weightier testimony of the Vedas, that the Aryan Indians pro-secuted navigation and undertook voyages because the Ashvins are praised for exhibiting their power by protect-ing the hundred-oared ship of Bhujyu on the immeasurable bottomless sea and bringing it fortunately to the shore.

The Mahabharata affords also instructive hints on the manner of the Aryan propagation. No Aryan empire is mentioned on the west coast to the south of Suráshtra. The hermitages however, of the Brahmans, and the seats of the Gods extend as far as Gokarna, and thus far pilgrimages were undertaken. But no Aryan nation is mentioned. Gokarna is now the southern limit of the domain of the Sanskrit tongue. At the time of Ptolemy,

this coast and the interior country above it, was called Aryaka, and hence it must have been occupied by Aryans. Consequently the immigration of the Aryans into this part took place later than the time of the Pandavas, and the Brāhmans appear here only as the precursors of Aryan possession. The same holds good also of the valley of the Payoshnī in which, also, only seats of the Brahmins are mentioned, and the King of Vidarbha is not represented to us as a conqueror, but as a founder of a Brahmanical state. Consequently the Marathas also immigrated after the heroic time. Baglana and the country near the sources of the Godavari, i.e. the first seats of the Marathas upon the high land were not yet visited by the Pandavas. It is still plainer handed down by the myths, that in Mahishmati, the Brahmins introduced their cultus themselves without the assistance of warriors, and by this also the conjecture is confirmed, that the south of India was gained over to Aryan civilization not by forced conversions, but by means of peaceable missions of Brahmins. For this we have also the confirmation of Ptolemy, who mentions a race of Brāhmans in southernmost India on the Argahc gulf' *

On the names of peoples and countries occurring in the Dig-Vijaya much light has been cast not only by Professor Lassen but by Professor H. H. Wilson, but it is not necessary for us to extend our notices of this and similar portions of the Mahabharata.

The carrying on of war, at all hazards of life, is declared to be the duty of the Kshatriya †

(3) In the *Vana Parva*, after it is again stated that

* Lassen's Indische Altherthumskunde, 1 pp. 576 78

† M. Bh. u. v. 1951

the Brahma was formed by the Kshatra and the Kshatia by the Brahma, the necessity of a Kshatra having a Bráhma for instruction and advice is very emphatically set forth. Without an arrangement of this kind any nation or people it is said, will go to destruction. The power of the Brahma and Kshatriya united together are as fire and wind in the consumption of the forest—irresistible *

With reference doubtless to the early settlement of the Aryans near the Sarasvati, it is said, "They who dwell to the south of the Sarasvati and to the north of the Drishadvati dwell in heaven, adding that the district is known by the name of the very holy Brahmakshetra. Onwards it is said that the disappearance (in the sands) of the Sarasvati takes place from its reaching the borders of the Nishádas (viewed as impure) "Here is this delightful, divine and fluent river the Sarasvati. O King of men, (here is) what is called the *Vináshana* (the disappearance) of the Sarasvati, on account of the fault (*dosha*) of the commencement of the region of the Nishadas, the Sarasvati entered the earth †

The story of Parshurama and the Kshatriyas is related in this paava with great particularity. The following accurate notice of the legend is by Mr Muir —

Arjun son of Kritavirya and King of the Haihayas had, we are told, twenty one hundred arms. He rode in a chariot of gold, the march of which was irresistible. He thus trod down gods, yakshas and rishis, and oppressed all creatures. The gods and rishis applied to Vishnu and he along with Indra, who had been insulted by Arjuna, devised the means of destroying the latter. About this time, the story goes on there lived a king of Kányakubja called Gadhí who had a daughter named Satyavati. The marriage of this princess to the rishi Richika and the birth of Jamadagni are then told in the same way as

above narrated in p. 85 * Jamadagni and Satyavati had five sons the youngest of whom was the redoubtable Parshuráma. By his father's command he kills his mother (in whom her husband had detected some inward defilement), after the four elder sons had refused this matricidal office, and had in consequence been deprived of reason by their father's curse. At Parshuráma's desire, however his mother is restored by his father to life, and his brothers to reason, and he himself is absolved from all the guilt of murder. His history now begins to be connected with that of King Arjuna (or Kártavírya). The latter had come to Jamadagni's hermitage, and had been respectfully received but he had requited this honour by carrying away by force the calf of the sage's sacrificial cow and breaking down his lofty trees. On being informed of this violence, Parshuráma was filled with indignation, attacked and slew Arjuna, and cut off his arms (which according to this version were a thousand in number). Arjuna's sons in return slew the sage Jamadagni, in the absence of Parshuráma. The latter vowed to destroy the whole Kshatriya race and executed his threat by killing first Arjuna's sons and their followers. 'Twenty one times it is said he swept away all Kshatriyas from the earth, and formed five lakes of blood in Samantapanchaka, in which he satiated the manes of the Bhrigus. He then performed a grand sacrifice to Indra, and gave the earth to the officiating priests. He bestowed also a golden altar on the sage Kashyapa. This, by his permission, the Bráhmans divided among themselves, deriving thence the name of Khán avayanas. Having given away the earth to Kashyapa Parshuráma himself dwells on the mountain Mahéndra. Thus did enmity arise between him and the Kshatriyas, and thus was the earth conquered by Ráma of boundless might' †

This legend, which occurs in other forms elsewhere, may have arisen from a very small beginning to which we have already referred ‡. The only historical fact on which it can be founded is that there were olden quarrels

* See p. 237-8 of this work

† Muir's Texts, 1 pp. 166 7 M Bh 11 v 11070 et seq

‡ See before, p. 148

about prerogative between Bráhmans and Kshatriyas. Its intended lesson is the danger of Kshatriyas trifling with Bráhmans.

In connexion with a description of the first age, put into the mouth of Hanuman, it is mentioned that Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras strictly observed the institutes of their own castes * This representation was intended as a hint for the present. In the context, sacrificing (for one's self), giving of gifts, learning the Védas, are said to be common to the three twice born castes, while sacrificing for others and teaching, and taking alms belong to the Bráhmans,—protection (*pálana*) being the duty of the Kshatriyas, supporting (*poshana*) that of the Vaishyas, and service (*shushrúshá*) that of the Shúdras.†

The King Nahusha the son of Ayus, and grandson of Pururavas mentioned in the Védas, (who is represented, in the first parva‡ as forcing even the Rishis to pay him tribute, and to carry him upon their shoulders, in a palanquin,) is represented as found by Yudhishthira as a serpent, into which state he had been brought by the curse of one of them, Agastya Muni, whom he had touched with his foot. He is made to be bewail his pride and to ask deliverance from Yudhishthira, whose name had been given as his saviour by the Muni, on his begging his pardon. It is added that Yudhishthira gave him a celestial form in which he ascended to heaven. The curse and its limitation were of course both from the Bráhmaṇ §

* M. Bh. III. v. 11241

† Ib. III. v. 11298 et seq.

‡ Ib. I. v. 8151 et seq.

§ M. Bh. III. v. 12408 et seq. Murs Texts, I. 68-9

In the course of the alleged conversation between Yudhishthira and the Serpent now referred to, some of the principles of caste as affected by the progress of Indian society, are curiously brought forward

"The Serpent says Who, O king Yudhishthira, is the Brahman and what is Knowledge? Declare your high judgment (in the case) I make inquiry of thee" Yudhishthira says He in whom are seen truth, liberality, forgiveness, virtue, innocence, austere devotion, and compassion, he O king of Nagas, is according to the Smriti a Brahman Knowledge, O Serpent, is Parabrahma, without pain without pleasure, whether upon having gone they have no grief, what more do you wish to be known? The Serpent replies The establishment of the four castes is with proof (authorized) and Brahma is also true But even in Shudras, O Yudhishthira, are truth, liberality, wrathlessness, innocence, abstinence from killing, compassion (The) knowledge (of Brahma?) is also without pain or pleasure, O Lord of men, and without these (sensations) there is no other thing but knowledge Yudhishthira says When in a Shudra there is a mark of virtue, and it is not in a Dvija, the Shudra is not a Shudra and the Brahman is not a Brahman The person in whom that mark of virtue is seen, O Serpent, is a Brahman, and the person in whom it is not seen is a Shudra" * The conversation is continued (I here avail myself of Mr. Muir's translation of it) "The Serpent said If you regard him only as a Brahman whom his conduct makes such then caste is of no avail until deeds are superadded to it Yudhishthira replies

O most sapient Serpent, the caste of mankind is difficult to determine, owing to the general confusion of classes. Men of all castes are continually begetting children on women of all castes—the speech the mode of propagation, the birth, the death, of all men are alike. This also is established by the word of ri-his, and is authoritative—

‘ We who sacrifice, etc. Hence those who have insight into reality consider virtuous character to be the thing mainly to be desired. The natal rites of a male are enjoined to be performed before the section of the umbilical cord [See Manu ii 29] Then Savitri (the Gáyatrí, Manu, ii 77), becomes his mother, and the religious teacher his father [Manu ii 170, 225] He is on a level with a Shudra till he is born in the Véda. [Manu, ii 172] In this division of opinions Manu Swayambhuva hath so declared. Again, though the prescribed ceremonies have been fulfilled? Yet, if good conduct is not superadded there is considered to be, in that case a great confusion of castes. I have before declared him to be a Brahman who aims at purity of conduct’* There is something here like a statement of certain Buddhist objections to Caste, though with but a feeble reply to them.

An account of the Deluge, much extended, and different from that of the Shatapatha Brahmana which we have introduced into a former part of this work,† is given in the parva under notice. It differs from that which we have quoted, in this among other respects, that it does not mention the original residence of Manu.‡

* Muir's Texts, i 197

† See, before, p 167 et seq

‡ M. Bh ii 12751, et seq. The passage has been extracted and translated by Mr. Muir in his Texts, ii. 331 2

The glory of the Bráhman is emphatically set forth in the following instructions given to Yudhuṣlithira by the Rishi Markandéya, particularly in their conclusion —“The person possessed of these three purities—purity of speech, purity of conduct, and purity by water (ablution)—is worthy of heaven, of this there is no doubt. The Bráhman who performs *Sandhyá* morning and evening, repeating the holy, divine *gáyatri*, the mother of the Védas, that Bráhman becomes by this divine (object) free from sin (*nashtakalvishah*) He is not to grieve for being a receiver of gifts, even though of the earth and ocean (that is of the whole world). Whatever planets, as the sun in the heavens, etc., may be fearful to him, they become to him prosperous, and more and more prosperous for aye. Pursuing evil devils (*pishitáshináh*)* of horrible form and great bulk, do not ill-treat the Bráhman. From teaching, sacrificing, and taking gifts from others (whatever errors may occur?) there is no fault, as Bráhmans are like the blazing fire (which consumes everything). Whether ill-instructed or well-instructed, whether vulgar or refined, Bráhmans are not to be disregarded, being as fire concealed in ashes. As kindled fire in the burning-ground (for the dead) is without fault, so the Bráhman learned or unlearned is a great deity.”†

Even the Rákshasa Vibhíshana, is made to utter respect for the Bráhmans, by declining to use their instrument

* Literally, flesh-eaters

† M. Bh. m. vv. 13431-13438 The following is the Sanskrit of the two last Shlokas of this passage —

(that of piayer) while his brother Rāvana was beseeching Bṛahma to make him invisible to his foes *

(4) In the *Virāta* Parva, we have the distribution of works for the four castes respectively mentioned, as by 'Svayambhuva' (Manu), a proof that this portion of the work at least is posterior to that Code †

(5) In the *Udyoga* Parva there is a repetition, with variations, of the story of the haughty king Nahusha evidently again brought forward to show the dangers of ill-treating the Brahmins ‡

(6) In the *Bhishma* Parva occurs the well known Bhagawad-Gita, or Song-of God, containing the discourse between Kṛiṣṇa and Arjuna, in which the latter party relates his humane scruples about going into battle when the crisis of the great war occurred, and the former gives a reply, which, to use the words of Mr Milman, breathes 'the terrible sublime of pantheistic fatalism § The system of philosophy on which this remarkable episode is, in the main, founded, is that of the *Yoga* of *Patanjali*, in which liberation from further births, and absorption into the divine Spirit, (the great objects of desire according to Hindu speculation), are made dependent on the knowledge of Spirit and the practice of contemplative and ascetic devotion, so far as indifference to pleasure and pain and the suppression of emotional action are concerned. It is not altogether consistent or homogeneous

* M Bh iii 13913 Muir, ii 483

† M Bh iv 1457 So also in vv 830-35, 1550-61 & 3454 et seq, &c See Muir, pp 69 73

‡ M Bh v v 345, et seq

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throughout, and as pointed out by William de Humboldt, who viewed it as an important contribution to philosophy, has itself been probably the subject of additions and interpolations, from various hands.* Notwithstanding its speculative character, it professes to show respect to what may be called the Hindu institutes. Its notices of Caste are very scanty. The existence of the mixed classes (*Varna-sankara*) it traces to vicious women † It is probable that at the time it was composed, all illegitimate children were reckoned to belong to the mixed castes, which, in the first instance, had originated from the division of labour. Fighting it represents as the supreme duty of the Kshatriya ‡ Probably with secessions to Buddhism, more than secessions from Caste, in view, but applicable to both, it sets forth the general aphorism — "One's own religion, though worthless, is better than the religion of another however well instituted (or followed), one's own religion is profitable at death, while that of another beareth fear" § It represents Krishna (as the Supreme) saying "They who are of the womb-of-sin, women, Vaishyas and Shudras shall go the supreme journey if they take refuge with me, how much more my holy worshippers, the Brahmans, and the Rajarshis || In connexion with its notices of the three qualities of truth (*satya*), passion (*raja*), and darkness

* For a translation of Humboldt's Essay, by the late Rev. G. H. Weigle see a valuable edition of the Bhagavad Gita in Sanskrit, Canarese, and English, published by the Rev. J. Garrett at Bangalore, 1849

† त्रिषु द्रुषु सु शर्णेष्य जायते वर्णसकरं M Bh vi v 872

‡ M Bh vi v 900

§ M Bh vi v 908

|| M B vi 1203 1

(*tama*), it says, that, "The sacrifice which is performed without the ordained rites, without the distribution of food, without the mantras, without dakshinā and without faith is of the quality of darkness * The respective duties and qualities of the Brahman, Kshatriya, and Vaishya it declares in the usual form as already given by us on its authority †

(7) In the *Drona Parva* the Shudras along with other peoples near the Indus, are mentioned as a people,‡ as in the *Dig-vijaya* —a position consistent with that which we have supposed to have originally belonged to them §

(8) In the *Karna Parva* it is mentioned that in the appointment of Karna to succeed Drona as general Brahmans Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudras were ununited (*sammatah*) ||

In the same section the following passage occurs — "The Brahmans, according to the Shuuti were created by Brahma from his mouth, the Kshatra from his arms, the Vaishya from his thighs, and the Shudras from his feet. Other distinctions of caste called *Pratiloma* and *Anuloma* were produced from them ¶ This O king was from intercourse with strange females (those not belonging to one's own caste). The Kshatriyas according to the Smriti, are protectors, collectors (of tribute) and givers-of-luxuries. Sacrificing for others teaching, and taking pure alms, belong to the Brahmans. Brahmans are established on the earth for the advantage of the people. The Vaishyas are in duty

* M Bh vi v 1439

+ See before pp 20 38 40

† M Bh vii 183-4

§ See before, p. 111

‡ M Bh viii 890

¶ See before, p. 63

obligated to agriculture, keeping of cattle, and liberality. The *Shádras* are appointed servants to the *Brahma*, *Kshattra* and *Visha*. The *Sútas* are appointed servants of the *Brahma* and *Kshatra*. It is not heard (never enjoined) that a *Kshátriya* should be a servant to a *Súta*. I, a *Murdhábhishikta*, (Shalya is addressing Duryodhanu) who am born of a *Ryaishi* family O king, and who am addressed as a *Maharatha*, am to be served and praised by *Bandis* I who am, as above signified O king, do not wish to be the charioteer of a *Sútaputra*. "Having got so dishonoured, I will certainly not fight. Having asked (leave) of you, O son of Gandhari I take my departure to my own home" * Duryodhana afterwards reminds Shalya, that a charioteer may be superior to the person driven (as was exemplified in the case of *Krishna* and *Arjuna*) † All this is in consistency with the orthodox view of Caste, as found in *Manu* and elsewhere ‡

In the context of the passages now referred to, much is said of the impurity of the *Madrikas*, and *Gandharis* whose king was Shalya § Of the adjoining territories of the *Bálikas*, the neighbours of the *Madras* a most curious account is given, in a passage thus summarily translated by Professor H. H. Wilson —

"An old and excellent Bráhman reviling the countries *Báliká* and *Madra* in the dwelling of Dhritarásatra, related facts long known and thus described those nations External to the *Himávan*, and beyond the *Ganges*, beyond the *Sarasvati* and *Yamuná* rivers and *Kuru* *kshetra* between five rivers and the *Sindhu* as the sixth, are situated the *Bálikas*, devoid of ritual or observance and therefore to be shunned

* M. Bh. viii v. 1867 et seq.

† M. Bh. viii v. 1641

‡ See before, p. 53 et seq.

§ M. Bh. viii 1837, et seq.

Their fig-tree is named Govardhana (i.e. the place of cow killing), their market place is Subhadram, (the place of vending liquor at least so say the commentators), and these give titles to the doorway of the royal palace. A business of great importance compelled me to dwell amongst the Bāhikas and their customs are therefore well known to me. The chief city is called Shākala and the river Apagā. The people are also named Jartikas, and their customs are shameful. They drink spirits made from sugar and grain, and eat meat seasoned with garlic and live on flesh and wine. Their women intoxicated appear in public places, with no other garb than garlands and perfumes, dancing and singing and vociferating indecencies in tones more harsh than those of the camel or the ass. They indulge in promiscuous intercourse and are under no restraint. They clothe themselves in skins and blankets and sound the cymbal and drum and conch and cry aloud with hoarse voices. 'We will hasten to delight, in thick forests and in pleasant places, we will feast and sport and gathering on the high ways sprung upon the travellers and spoil, and scourge them.' In Shākala, a female demon (a Rāshasi) on the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight sings aloud 'I will feast on the flesh of kine, and quaff the inebriating spirit attended by fair and graceful females.' The Shudra-like Bāhikas have no institutes nor sacrifices, and neither deities, manes, nor Brahmans accept their offerings. They eat out of wooden or earthen plates, nor heed their being smeared with wine or viands or licked by dogs, and they use equally in its various preparations the milk of ewes, of camels and of asses. Who that has drank milk in the city Yugandhara can hope to enter Svarga? Bāhi and Hīta were the names of two fiends in the Vipāsha river: the Bāhikas are their descendants and not of the creation of Brahmā. Some say the Arattas are the name of the people and Bāhikas of the waters. The Vedas are not known there, nor oblation nor sacrifice and the gods will not partake their food. The Prasthalas (perhaps borderers) Madras, Gandhavas, Arattas, Khasas, Vasas, Atisindhus (or those beyond the Indus) Sauvaras are all equally in famous. Their one who is by birth a Brāhmaṇa, becomes a Kshatriya, or a Vaishya, or a Shudra, or a Barber, and having been a barber becomes a Brāhmaṇa again. A virtuous woman was once violated by Atiāruffians, and she cursed the race and their women have ever since been unchaste. On this account their heirs are their sister's children, not

their own. All countries have their laws and gods the Yavanas are wise, and pre-eminently brave the Mlechchas observe their own ritual but the *Madras* are worthless. *Madra* is the ordure of the earth it is the region of debauchery, unchastity, robbery and murder fie on the Panchanadi people! fie on the Kritta race!*

From this it is evident that if ever the Madras and Bahikas (or Vahikas) were under Aryan influence, they had contrived to make their escape from it at the period here represented. Some of the Caste customs of the Aryas are here revealed by our turning the vices charged by the narrator into virtues.

(9) In the *Shalya Parva* there are several stories setting forth the struggles of Vishvamitra to attain Brahmanhood † Their intended lesson is like that pertaining to this matter found elsewhere — The Brahmanhood, after the formation of the first of the race of the head-born, was held to be a privilege of birth, except when superhuman efforts were made by the favour of the gods to obtain its advantages.

(10) In the *Sauptika Parva*, Ashvathamā the son of Drona, a Brāhman, apologizes for his knowledge of war and the affairs of the Kshatriyas by pleading his own poverty the sole cause of his abandonment of Brahmanical works ‡ Poverty is a great plea for remissness in caste observances even at the present day.

(11) In the *Śrī Parva*, we find nothing bearing on Caste. The writers and framers of the *Mahabharata* have

* M. Bh viii 2026, et seq. Asiatic Researches, vol xv pp 108 9

† M. Bh ix v 2265 et seq. v 2307, et seq. These passages are translated in Muir's Texts : pp 200 1 202-204

‡ M. Bh ix. v 122 5

refrained from discussing any of the questions raised respecting it with mourning women

(12) In the *Shanti Parva*, Arjuna teaches that death in battle is better than all sacrifices for a Kshatriya

In the *Rajadharma-nushasana* section of this division of the Bharata there is much said on the religion and duty of kings, corresponding with what we find in the Law books *

The legendary respecting Parashurama and the alleged destruction of the Kshatriyas here appears in a very advanced and extended form. The following is an abridgement of what is found respecting it in Muir's Texts —

' Jamadagni was father of Parashurama, ' who became perfect in all science thoroughly versed in archery, and the slayer of the Kshatriyas, himself violent as flaming fire. By propitiating Mahadéva he obtained among other things the irresistible axe, (*parashu*) from which his name is derived. Arjuna, son of Kritavírya, king of the Haihayas, is here represented as a dutiful and religious monarch who at an Ashvamedha (horse-sacrifice) bestowed on the Bráhmans the earth with its seven continents and mountains, which he had conquered with his thousand arms. He had, however been cursed by the sage A'pava (Vasishtha) to have those arms cut off by Parashuráma. Being of a meek, pious kind, and charitable turn of mind, the valiant Arjuna thought nothing of the curse, but his sons, who were of a barbarous disposition, became the cause of his death. Unknown to their father, they took away Jamadagni's calf, and, in consequence Parashurama attacked Arjuna, and cut off his arms. His sons retaliated by killing Jamadagni. Parashuráma having vowed in consequence to sweep away all Kshatriyas from the earth seized his weapons, and slaughtering the sons and grandsons of Arjuna, with thousands of the Haihayas, he cleared the earth of Kshatriyas, and converted it into a mass of ensanguined mud. Then, being penetrated by deep compassion, he went to the forest. After thousands of years had elapsed he was

* See before pp 37 44

taunted by Purávnu, the grandson of Vishvámitra, with having failed to fulfil his threat and vainly boasted in public of having killed all the Kshatriyas, (as many of that tribe were there present) and with having withdrawn from fear while the earth had again become overrun by them the Kshatriyas who had before been spared had now grown powerful kings. These however being stung by Paravasu's taunt, Parashuráma now slew, with their children, and all the yet unborn infants as they came into the world Some, however were preserved by their mothers. Having twenty one times cleared the earth of Kshatriyas he gave her as a sacrificial fee to Kashyapa at the conclusion of the Ashvamedha Kashyapa, making a signal with his hand, in which he held the sacrificial ladle that the remaining Kshatriyas should be spared, sent away Parashuráma to the shore of the southern ocean Having received dominion over the earth, Kashyapa made it an abode of Bráhmaṇa, and himself withdrew to the forests. Shudras and Vaishyas then began to act lawlessly towards the wives of the Bráhmaṇa, and in consequence of there being no government, the weak were oppressed by the strong and no one was master of his property The earth being distressed by the wicked, in consequence of that disorder descended to the lower regions etc. This goddess earth then supplicated Kashyapa for protection and for a king She had, she said, preserved among the females many Kshatriyas who had been born in the race of the Haṁsayas, and whom she desired for her protectors' Among these are mentioned Sárvakarma, the son of Saúdasa ' whom the tender hearted priest Paráshara had saved performing, though a Bráhmaṇa all menial offices, (*Sárvakarmanu*) for him like a Shudra,—whence the prince's name ' All these Kshatriya descendants have been preserved in different places If they protect me I shall continue unshaken Their fathers and grandfathers were slain on my account by Ráma, energetic in action It is incumbent on me to avenge their cause For I do not desire to be always protected by an extraordinary person [? such as Kashyapa?] but I will be content with an ordinary ruler (?) Let this be speedily fulfilled ' Kashyapa then sent for these Kshatriyas who had been pointed out by the earth and installed them in the kingly office *

This legendary, as we have already hinted,* may have had but a very slender beginning. For its extension there may have been a strong motive at the time it assumed the form now given. This motive, I venture to think, was the disparagement of the Kshatriyas at the time when the Buddhist faith, patronized by the Kshatriyas, began to prevail. But this matter we may afterwards notice.

Prithu, (the son of Véna, mentioned as a refractory king by Manu†), is represented in the Parva before us as very respectful to the chief of the twice-born. 'In thought deed, and word it was enjoined upon him, take on thyself and constantly renew the engagement (*pratijna*) to uphold the earthly Brahma (Védic services). And promise that thou will exempt the Bráhmans from punishment and preserve society from the confusion of castes. The son of Vena then addressed the gods headed by the Rishis. 'The illustrious Bráhmans the chief of men, shall be venerated by me'‡. In this veneration much moral excellence was concentrated according to Brahmanical notions. In the context, a fanciful derivation of the name *Kshatriya* is thus given — 'The Kshatriya is so called from saving the Bráhmans from *Kshata* (hurt) §.

Long discussions are carried on between Bhíshma and

* See before p 148

† Manu vii 4

‡ M Bh xii v 2221 et seq

§ ब्राह्मणानां क्षत्रियाणां च विद्यते M Bh xii v 2247 *Kshatra* really means power and *Kshatriya* "a possessor of power". See before p 108

Yudhishthira on the subject of Caste, in which the exaltation of the Brahman, his four ashramas and his six works are specified in the usual form, while it is said that the Kshatriyas are to exercise their power in subordination to and with the advice of the Bráhmans.

In connexion with the matters now referred to, some light is cast by the following passage (translated by Mr Mun) on the accommodations made by the Aryas with the *Dasyus*, when they were able to proselytize them. Bhishma repeats in it in a conversation alleged to have taken place between king Mandhata and Indra —

The Yavanas, K-ratas, Gandháras, Chinas, Shavaras, Varvaras, Súkas Tusháras, Kankas Pahlavas, Andhras, Madras, Paundras, Pulindas, Ramathas, Kambojas men sprung from Bráhmans and from Kshatriyas persons of the Vaishya and Shudra castes — how shall these people of different countries practise duty, and what rules shall kings like me prescribe for those who are living as *Dasyus*? Instruct me on these points, for thou [Indra] art the friend of our Kshatriya race. Indra answers All the *Dasyus* should obey their parents their spiritual directors, and anchorites, and kings. It is also their duty to perform the ceremonies ordained in the Védas. They should sacrifice to the Pitrí, construct wells, buildings for the distribution of water, and resting places for travellers and should on proper occasions bestow gifts on the Bráhmans. They should practise innocence, veracity, meekness, purity and inoffensiveness, should maintain their wives and families and make a just division of property. Gifts should be distributed at all sacrifices by those who desire to prosper. All the *Dasyus* should offer costly *paka* oblations. Such duties as these which have been ordained of old, ought to be observed by all people. Mánthana observes In this world of men *Dasyus* are to be seen in all castes living under another garb even among men of the four orders (*ashramas*). Indra replies 'When criminal justice has perished and the duties of Government are disregarded, and

the bewildered through the wickedness of their kings. When

hypocrites shall arise and the four orders become disorganized. Disregarding the excellent paths of ancient duty and unpelled by passion and by anger, men shall fall into wickedness. *

Though this is certainly not one of the earlier portions of the Mahábháraata, it is possessed of importance as illustrating the method of bringing foreign tribes within the pale of Bráhmanism. The prophecy with which it concludes shows that it was written when the glow of that system of social life and religion was, in the Indian point of view, beginning to pass away. Curious matter is added to it respecting the evils which occur when Kshatriyas fail to discharge their duty of protection. In the context, the orthodox view of the origin of the four primitive castes is put into the mouth of the god Vayu, who concludes by saying to Bhíshma, 'The Bráhman was born immediately after the earth, the Lord of all creatures, to protect the treasury of religion. Therefore [the creator] constituted the Kshatriya the controller of the earth, a second Yama to bear the rod for the satisfaction of the people. And it was Bráhma's ordinance that the Vaishya should sustain these three castes with money and corn, and that the Shúdra should serve them. The son of Ila [Pururavas] then enquires, "tell me, Vayu, whose should the earth, with its wealth, rightfully be—the Bráhman's or the Kshatriya's?" Vayu replies, "Whatever exists in the world belongs to the Bráhmans in right of primogeniture and headship." Exhortations exhorting Bráhmans and Kshatriyas to agree (with this recognition) follow. ¶

* Muir's Texts, i, p. 180. M. Bh. xii. v. 2429

† M. Bh. xii. v. 2540, et seq.

‡ M. Bh. xii. v. 2749, et seq. Muir's Texts, pp. 88 &

§ M. Bh. xii. v. 2803, 2936, etc.

A detailed account is given of an alleged conversation between Vishvámitra and a Chandala about a proposal made by the sage to eat a dog's thigh in a season of famine. It was when this savoury dish was cooked and ready, that Vishvamitra by a heavy fall of rain was prevented from carrying his fully formed purpose into effect. The Chandala is represented as standing out against the use of the extraordinary meal.* Manu alludes to the legend† as an illustration of what may be lawfully done for the sustentation of life in times of difficulty‡. A Bráhman (Gautama) is represented as having assimilated himself to the Mlechchás (alias Dasyus, according to the notice), while dwelling among them on a begging excursion. He was recalled to duty, however, by another Brahman visitor§.

The following passage which I give as translated by M. Muñ, contains a statement of the origin of Caste different from all which we have yet noticed, while at the same time it is more moderate than many of the Brahmannical teachings which have passed before our view.

* Brigu speaks. Brahma thus formerly created the Piajapatis (Brahmanas) distinguished by his own energy and in splendour equaling the sun and fire. The lord then formed truth, righteousness, devotion, eternal Vedas, virtuous practice and purity for [the attainment of] heaven. He also formed the Devas, Danavas, Gandharvas, Daityas, Asuras, Mahoragas, Yakshas, Rakshasas, Nágas, Pishachas, and men, Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras and other tribes [or castes] of living creatures. The colour [varna meaning primarily colour and afterwards caste] of the Bráhmans was white, that of the Kshatriyas red, that of the Vaishyas yellow, and that of the Shudras black.

* M. Bh. XII. v. 5330 & 420

† Manu x. 10b

‡ Manu x. 108

§ M. I. h. VII. v. 6295 et seqq.

Bhāradwājī here rejoins if the cast (varna) of the four castes is distinguished by their colour [varna], then we perceive in all the castes a confusion of caste [or colour] Desire, anger, fear, cupidity, grief, anxiety, hunger, fatigue, prevail over all ['sarvesham na prabhavati' the reading of the Calcutta edition can scarcely be correct] by what, then, is caste distinguished? [They have in common all] the bodily secretions with phlegm, bile, and blood, and the bodies of them all decay by what then is caste distinguished? There are innumerable kinds of things moving and stationary how is the class [or caste] of all these different classes of creatures determined?

'Bhrigu replies there is no distinction of castes, this whole world is from [or is formed of] Brahmā for having been formerly created by him it became separated into castes in consequence of works Those red limbed Brāhmans [twice born] who were fond of sensual pleasure, fiery, irascible, prone to daring and who had forsaken their duties, fell into the condition of Kshatriyas. The yellow Brāhmans who derived their livelihood from cows, and agriculture, and did not practise their duties fell into the state of Vaishyas. The Brāhmans who were black, and had lost their purity, who were addicted to violence and lying, who were covetous and subsisted by all kinds of work, fell into the position of Shūdras. Being thus separated by these their works the Brāhmans became of other castes Religious ceremonies and sacrifice have not been always forbidden to [all] these. Thus these four castes, whose speech [Saraswati] is from Brahma [or Brahmanical?]* were formerly instituted by Brahma, but by their cupidity fell into ignorance Brāhmans are dependent on the Vēdas [brahma], their devotion does not perish, while they constantly maintain the Vēda, its observances and rules The Veda [brahma] was created the chief of all things they who do not know it are not Brāhmans. Of these [of those who are not Brāhmans?] there are many other classes of different sorts in different place Pishāchas, Rakshasas, Prētas, various classes of Mlechhas, who have lost all knowledge sacred and profane and follow whatever observances they please Other creatures with the initiation of Brāhmans who have ascertained

*See Indische Studien vol ii 194 note where Dr. Weber regards this passage as indicating that at an early period of Indian history the Shūdras spoke the same language as the other castes

their proper duties are created by other Rishis through their own devotion. This creation proceeding from the primeval god having its root in Brahma, and unperishable is called the mental creation devoted to duty.

'Bhāradwajī now enquires what constitutes a Brāhmaṇa a Kshatriya a Vaishya, or a Shūdra? tell me, O most eloquent of Brahmanical sages.

Brigu replies he who is pure consecrated by the natal and other initiatory ceremonies who duly studies the Vēda practises the six kinds of works, and the rites of purification, who eats of offerings is attached to his religious teacher is constant in austerities and is devoted to truth is called a Brāhmaṇa. He in whom are seen truth, liberality, inoffensiveness, innocence, modesty, compassion, and devotion—is declared to be a Brāhmaṇa. He who pursues the duties derived from the function of protection (*Kshattra*), who studies the Vēda, and is addicted to giving and receiving—is called a Kshatriya. He who quickly enters among (?) cattle (this seems to be a play upon words to connect the word *Vai* *llya* with the root *lly* to enter) is addicted to agriculture, and acquisition, who is pure and studies the Vēdas,—is called a Vaishya. He who is unclean is addicted constantly to all kinds of food performs all kinds of works has abandoned the Vēda and is destitute of pure observances—is called a Shūdra. And this is the mark of a Shudra and it is not found in a twice born man the Shūdra will be a Shudra, but the Brāhmaṇa not a Brāhmaṇa.'

The three Varnas, according to Pāṇini, are required to observe their respective works as often enjoined. A Shudra however may practise merchandise, the keeping of cattle masonry, playing, acting the selling of spirits and flesh, the selling of iron and leather. What is not agreeable to usage is not to be done †. It is evident from this that the Shudras by this time were not all in a state of slavery.

(13) In the *Anuśāsana Parva* there are many notices of Caste as well as in the *Shanti Parva* now referred to.

* Murs Texts 1 38-40 M Bh xii v 1930 et seq

† M Bh xii v 10794 et seq

The Brahman (theoretically viewed) is said to be free of anger *

The question How did Vishvarūpa become a Brahman (without transmigrating into another body) is again put and answered. References are made to his reported austerities and exploits and it is said that Rishi, the father of Shunahshepha, infused into him the Brahmanhood †

A Brahman though only ten years of age is fitted it is said to be a guru of a Kshatriya a hundred years old. The Brahman is the father, the Kshatriya the son. It is in lack of a Brahman that a Kshatriya has sovereignty in the earth ‡

The Chundāla according to the fictional system, is said to derive his birth from a Brahman mother and a barber father §

The entertainers of Cows and Brahmins and the followers of truth need fear no evil || The females of the bovine race and the chief of the twice born are often mentioned together throughout the Mahābhārata as objects of religious veneration and attention

The law of inheritance is affecting the offspring of Brahmins by wives of different classes is thus in substance stated. The property of a Brahman being divided into ten parts four of these fall to the offspring by a female

* M. Bh. xiii. 26

† M. Bh. xiii. v. 260. See on the legends here recited, Muni's Texts i. 111 112

‡ M. Bh. xiii. v. 394 5. More occurs in the context about the pre-eminence of the Brahman

§ M. Bh. xiii. v. 1882

|| M. Bh. xiii. 2035

Brahman, three, to that by a female Kshatriya, two, to that by a female Vaishya, and one to that by a Shudra.*

The origin of the Parashava, Ugra, Suta Vaidhaka Maudgalya, Bandi, Magadha, Nishada, Ayogava, Taksha, Sanandhra, Madhuka, Madgura, Shvapaka, Saugandha, Madranabha, Pukkasa, Kshudra, Andhra, Karavara, Pandisupaka Ahindaka, and of some other Castes is given in the fictional form found in Manu and in the table which we have already inserted †

The story of Parashurama and Vishvamitra is again repeated with variations Mr. Muir who gives it at length, asks, "Is the legend intended to account for a real fact? Was Parashurama of a sacerdotal tribe, and yet by profession a warrior, just as Vishvamitra was conversely of royal extraction and yet a priest by profession?"‡

The rules to be observed in the giving of gifts and practising liberality (*dandham*) are laid down with particularity. The fruit of the gift of a cow by a Brahman distinguished for truth and duty is equal to that of a thousand (in ordinary circumstances). The fruit of a similar gift by a Kshatriya of this character is equal to that enjoyed by a Brahman. That of a Vaishya is that of five hundred, and of a Shudra, of the fourth (of the Brahman's merit, or two hundred and fifty).§ A long conversation on the merit of the gift of cows conducted between Saudasa

* M. Bh. xiii. v. 2010, et seq.

† M. Bh. xiii. 2565, et seq. See before pp. 55 59 65 70

‡ Muir's Texts i. 169-171 M. Bh. xiii. 2718, et seq.

§ M. Bh. xiii. v. 3575 79 See the context for the Institutes about Dandharma

and Vasishtha, follows * The teachings of Vasishtha are in reply to the question ' What O sinless Lord is declared to be the purest thing in the three worlds by constantly observing which a man may acquire the highest merit (*punyamuttamam*) ? They specify amongst other things, the heavens (*lokas*) into which the givers of cows of particular colours and trappings and conditions as to calves and milk enter after death. They called forth, according to the legend great liberality from Saudasa, who in consequence attuned to the heavens, —a plurality of these 'heavens' being intimated without that individual specification which with reference to his personal identity it might have been difficult to indicate. I once ventured to propose this question to a Brahman casuist. " Into what heaven or heavens does the giver of cows of different characters, each meriting a particular heaven actually enter ? He seemed unwilling to give any answer. I expected him to have said " He will get a choice."

Another story about Pūrushurama appears in this neighbourhood. It is thus given by Mr. Mun —

' It begins as follows. ' Rāma son of Jamadagni, having thrice seven times cleared the world of Kshatriyas, and conquered the whole earth performed the horse sacrifice, venerated by Brāhmans and Kshatriyas, which confers all objects of desire, which cleanses all creatures augments power and lustre and became thereby sinless and glorious. He did not however feel relieved in his mind, but enquired of the Rishis skilled in the scriptures and the gods, what was that which most perfectly cleansed a man who had committed deeds of violence for he felt compunction for what he had done. The Rishis skilled in the Vedas and Shāstras replied, let the Brāhmans be the objects of your liberality, as the authority of the Vēdas requires and let the Brahman Rishis be further consulted in regard to the

* M. Bh. VIII v. 3730—3801

means of lustration Parashurama accordingly consulted Vasishtha, Agastya, and Kashyapa. They replied that he should bestow cows, land, and other property, and especially gold, the purifying power of which was very great as those who bestow it, bestow the gods —a proposition which is thus compendiously proved for Agni comprehends all the gods, and gold is of the essence of Agni. In regard to the origin of this precious metal Vasishtha tells a very long story, how it was born by the goddess Gangi to Agni, by whom she had been impregnated and was the son of that god. Thus was gold born the offspring of Jatavedas (Agni) the chief of gems and of ornaments, the most pure of all pure things, the most auspicious of all auspicious objects, and one with the divine Agni the lord Prajapati. It must be highly consolatory for those who are disposed to be liberal to the Brahmans to be assured that the gift of gold has such a high mystical as well as current exchangeable value. 'Parashurama', the story concludes 'after being thus addiseased by Vasishtha gave gold to the Brahmans and was freed from sin' *

A duty story is told about the birth of the great Brahman Bhrigu, of whose origin various accounts are given in the Hindu writings †

Arjuna is represented as disputing the power and authority of the Brahmans, and as boasting of his own prowess as a Kshatriya. The god Vayu is then brought in repeating various stories, to rebuke his presumption and establish the priestly pre-eminence. When the earth offended by king Anga who wished to present it to the Brahmans as a sacrificial fee was about to depart in a pet to the world of Brahma the sage Kashyapa (a Brahman) entered into her, and she became replenished with grass and plants, and then did obeisance to Kashyapa, and became his daughter. Angiras made a potation of the waters and then filled the whole earth with a great flood

* Murs. Text : pp 160-63 M. Ph. xiii : 3960, et seqq

† See Murs. Texts : pp 152-53

Gautama cursed Purandara (the god Indra) for an evil-affection for his wife Ahalya, and yet escaped injury by his daring. The Brahmans made the ocean salt by their curse. Anuva alone destroyed the great Kshatriya family of the Talajinghas. Agni himself is a Brahman receiving the offerings of the whole world. Utathya called the god Varuna a "robber," for carrying off his wife and in his rage compelled restitution by drinking up all the sea, of which Varuna (in his modern aspects) is supposed to be the guardian. Agastya protected the gods from the enraged Asuras and Danavas, when they appealed to him for protection, and expelling the Danavas from heaven made them fly to the south. Vasishtha, on another occasion, also protected the gods, including Indra from the Danavas, all of whom he burnt up. Ati too, protected the gods from their enemies. Chayavana, the powerful, forced Indra to drink the Soma with the Ashvins frightening him by a fearful monster, named Mada, which he created for the occasion. When Indra and the gods had fallen into the mouth of this Mada and thus lost heaven, and when the demon Kapas had deprived them of the earth, they betook themselves on the advice of Brahmā to the Brahmans, who hurled forth their fires and destroyed Kapas. Given the truth of all these stories we need not wonder at Arjuna saying,

I live altogether and always for the Brahmans. I am devoted to the Brāhmaṇas, and do obeisance to them continually."* How suitable to the omnipotent sons of Brahma

* M. Bh. xii. 7187 7303. See Muir's Texts, i. pp. 163 169. These stories of the Mahabhaṣata are similar to those to which we have referred at pp. 23 25 of this work.

— would have been the counsel of the poet Cowper —

Beware of too sublime a sense
 Of your own worth and consequence
 The man who dreams himself so great
 And his importance of such weight
 That all around in all that's done
 Must move and act for Him alone
 Will learn in school of tribulation
 The folly of his expectation

(14) In the *Ashvamedha*, or Horse Sacrifice *Paiva*, we have some valuable geographical information given in connexion with the wandering of the horse previous to its being presented to the god Indra, but its indications we have already noticed on the authority of Professor Lassen *

In the latter *Paivas* we have not found any information respecting Caste worthy of abstraction, though the tone is altogether consistent with its spirit †

Having given as we have passed along most of the legends respecting Parashurama and the destruction of the Kshatriyas, we may turn back to a notice of a renewed race of Kshatriyas said to have been produced by the intercourse of Brahmans with Kshatriya women. At this time it is added, the Brahmanical faith was well observed, the Brahmans being well instructed in the *Vedas* their *Angas* and the *Upaniṣads*, the Kshatriyas being liberal in their *Dakshinā* to Brahmans the *Vishvas* cultivating their fields without cows (i.e. only by bullocks,) the Shudras not presuming to pronounce the *Vedas*, and all the Castes (*Varnas*) following their dis-

* See before, pp 245, et seq

† For a reference to *Gobhīna*, *lambhāsa*, and *Dvāruvī* etc, see M Bh xiv v 2177, et seq

tinctive works* The general doctrine of orthodox Hindus is that the Kshatriyas as a body have disappeared. The probable reason of this allegation as we have already hinted, was the countenance given by the Kshatriyas to the Buddhist heresy. The spread of this heresy gave an importance and expansion among the Brahmins to the legends about Parashurama which they did not originally possess, and that very much to the annoyance of the professing Kshatriyas of the present day who are very unwilling to have their desired position in the Indian community in any way questioned.

In no work of the classical literature of the Hindus has so much been done by interpolations and apocryphal additaments, to uphold Caste as in the Mahābhārata. That large work, with its numerous didactic episodes and interludes is as great a strong hold of Caste as any of the Indian law-books, to which from its references to them it is obvious that large portions of it are posterior. It may be characterized as the great fountain of Indian popular instruction. Its influence exceeds that of all the Puranas put together, though they themselves to a considerable extent harmonize with it. The provincial poetry—as that of the Marathas,—continually draws from its almost inexhaustible stores. Most injurious is the common idea formed of it by the Hindus that the bulk of it is veritable history as well as exciting and amusing poetry. A translation of the whole of it into English is certainly a desideratum. Notwithstanding the care bestowed on the edition of the text printed at Calcutta a collation of the older manuscripts is also a desideratum.]

* M. Bh. i. v. 2458 et seq.

† A lithographed edition of the work is in the press in Bombay.

VII —THE BUDDHIST VIEW OF CASTE

On entering on this subject it is necessary for us to mark the present stage of our chronological advancement. We view Dr Max Muller's date of the Súta period, —from 600-200 before Christ,—as correct enough for general practical purposes. It is abundantly evident from the notices which we have given, from even the earliest of this series of works, that the Caste system had reached its maturity when they were prepared. It is also manifest from the Aranyakas and Upanishads, that even before this time, Indian speculation, in which it is admitted on all hands Buddhism originated, had made considerable progress. With Caste, then, Buddhism had to deal. Its peculiar treatment of this institution, as we shall immediately see, was one of the principal causes of its rapid establishment in India. Buddhism in its most important social aspect was a reaction against Caste, the tyranny of which multitudes had begun to feel to be unbearable, though previous to its origin they had considered themselves unable to assail the religious foundations on which it was supposed to rest. The Bráhmans, the inventors and guardians of Caste, had up to the time of Buddha been nearly omnipotent in Indian society.

The word *Buddha* is not a name, but an appellative. It means the “intelligent-one,” or the party possessed of intelligence (in the sense of omniscience). The proper name of the individual on whom it is conferred is unknown as is the case with those of not a few of the most celebrated of the Hindu religiousists. Other common denominations of Buddha were *Shakyá Muni* the Sage of the *Shákya*

tribe, *Shalya Piabhu* the Shakya Lord *Shakya Sinha*, the Shakya Lion (or majestic one) *Piabhu Gardama*, the distinguished one of the Gautama family, *Bhagavat* the worshipful one, emphatically so called, *Siddhanta* the one who has obtained perfection, and *Tathagata*, the one who has passed (into total liberation or extinction) *

Buddha (who is represented by his followers as having a pre-existent heavenly state obtained by his merits in former births) belonged originally to the Kshatriya Caste, of the early influence of which in Indian speculation we have already seen some notices †. His father was Shuddhodana the king of Kapilavastu or Kapilavipuri ‡, 'the estate of Kapil' or 'city of Kapil', probably so named from its proximity to what may have been the hermitage of the Rishi Kapil, the reputed founder of the Sankhya or Numerical System of the Indian Schoolmen, to certain of whose doctrines some of those of Buddha bear a considerable resemblance. His mother, Maya or Mayadevi, daughter of king Suprabuddha, § is said to have died seven days after

* Lalita Vistara, in mult loc

† See before pp 239 240, Kumāra [the commentator on the Mahāniśī] always speaks of Buddha as a Kshatriya who tried to become a Brahmin. Muller's Hist of Sans. Lit p 79

‡ Lalita Vistara adh. xii. xv. xvi. List of Shakya by A. Csoma Korosi in As. Res. vol. xii pp 286 & seq

§ There was a consultation again among the gods in what form *Jodha aita* should enter into the womb or body of the woman whom he had chosen to become his mother. A young elephant with six adorned trunks such as has been judged proper in Brahmanical works, was preferred. He therefore leaving *Lushata* [said to be a heavenly de-
scendant and in the form of an elephant enters by the right side or cavity of the body of Mayadevi the wife of Shuddhodana]. The child came out by her right side. See A. Csoma Korosi ut sup

his birth. He was reared under the care of his sister, Gautamî. His early days gave indications of future promise, and many extravagant and incongruous legends connected with them are related by his followers. In his youth, it is said he was put to school (*shâlâlipi*: hall of writing), where he greatly astonished his master, who was named Vishvamitra, by his knowledge of sixty kinds of writing terrestrial and celestial.* The party chosen for him as a wife was Gopa, the daughter of Dandapanî, like himself of the Shakya race, for she is often spoken of as the Shakya Kanya (daughter, or lady).† Two other spouses were given to him according to the Tibetan accounts. By one of his wives, the name of whom is variously given in the Buddhist writings,‡ he had a son named Rahula. Marriage did not in his case interfere with the meditation and reflection to which he was early addicted. At the age of twenty-nine he renounced the world, deeply affected by its prevailing miseries. He

* At the time of Buddha's birth literal writing was probably not practised by the Indians though it was in use somewhat before the third century before Christ. See Author's India Three Thousand Years Ago, pp. 34-36 and more particularly Max Müller's Hist. of Anc. & Lit. pp. 497-524. Among the kinds of writing said to be known to Buddha were those of *Anga* (the Bhagalpur territories), *Banga* (Bengal), *Majadha*, *Dravida*, and *Kinari* (or Kanadi, the Cararese country?), the *Dalashina*, the *Ugra*, the *Dardu*, the *Kashya*, the *China*, the *Huna*, the *Littava Kuru*, the *Apasa Cauda*, the *Eastern Videha*, *Lalita Vistara*, and x (Cal. ed. pp. 143-144). Csoma Korosi (As I es. v. p. 290) mentions the *lipi* of the *Yavanas* (or Greeks) as one of those known to Buddha but that is not specified in the Calcutta edition of the *Lalita Vistara*.

† Lal. Vist. adh. xii.

‡ I. Bourouis, *Lotus de la Bonne Loi* p. 161. Mahavanso p. 9. As I es. v. p. 200.

became the pupil of a Brahman at Vaishali, and afterwards of another famous Brahman at Rajgriha, the capital of Magadha. Simple austerities, however, were not to his taste. With five of his fellow-disciples he retired into solitude near the village of Uvelaya (afterwards Buddhagaya) where for six years he resided maturing his own peculiar system of faith. Vrañsi, or Benares, was the next place which enjoyed the light of his presence. He was afterwards invited by king Bimbisara to Rajgriha at which place and in its neighbourhood he is said to have discoursed to his disciples, teaching them the misery of birth and the desirableness of its termination. It was perhaps the favour extended to him by Bimbisara which led to the murder of that king by his son Ajatashatru. From Rajgriha he went to Śravasti, the capital of Koshala, where he lived and lectured in a distinctive building erected for him and his disciples by an opulent merchant named Ana-hapindāda and where he succeeded in the conversion to his faith of Piaseirajitī the king of that locality. After twelve years absence he visited his native place, on which occasion his own tribe professed their adherence to his doctrines. His own wife and aunt (his foster mother) are said to have been the first of his female disciples and devotees. He afterwards revisited Rajgriha, where he could ultimately claim Ajatashatru as a disciple. He also revisited Vaishali, and at about the age of seventy five he died in a forest near Kushinagara, to which city he had been bending his foot-steps. His death occurred according to Professor Lassen in the year 543, and according to Dr Max Müller, in the year 477, before Christ.*

* For a review of the question of the date of Buddha's death see Müller's Hist. of S. Lit. pp. 260 et seq. (which contains the references

The doctrines of Buddha, metaphysically viewed, were of an atheistic character, as, like Kapila, his predecessor, he denied that there is any proof of the existence of a creative and superintending providence, and resolved all the objects, combinations, organizations, and phenomena, which indicate divine volition design creation adaptation, and guidance, into mere nature proximity, development, and growth * He was an indevout speculatist, but as an instructor he was aided by concurrent circumstances, and produce a greater effect on the mind and practice of India and through his disciples on the adjoining countries than any other of India's sons. This effect was not so much the result of his negative spiritual and metaphysical teaching —denying the existence of Deity and holding out as the *summum bonum* after death *māra* —the extinction of being or as some writers are inclined to believe the extinction of conscious being, at death †—but of his moral and

to Lassen) and Goldstucker's *Manava Kalpa Sutra*, Introduction, p 230 234 Mr Tournour (Mahavanso Introduction p xlviii) was aware of the difficulty of fixing the date of Buddha's death though he decides as Lassen afterwards did in favour of the Ceylon authorities [As this sheet is passing through the press I observe that a paper on the date of the death of Buddha (Ueber Buddha's Todesjahr und einige andere Zeitpunkte in der alten Geschichte Indiens) has just been published by my learned friend, Professor Westergaard K. D of Copenhagen. He makes that event to have occurred between 368 370 B C]

* For the principles of the School of Kapila, see the "Sankhya Aphorisms of Kapila (text translation and paraphrase) by Dr Ballantine and the Sankhya Pravachana Bhāṣya by Vijnāna Bhikshu (text) with a valuable introduction by Dr Fitz Edward Hall

† *Ma* is a participial noun formed from *ma* (to blow as the wind) with the negative affix *na*. It may mean *non-agitation* as well

social teachings, which were superior in some respects to those of his predecessors and contemporaries. What was his treatment of Caste? is the question with which at present we have to do.

For an answer to this question we must refer to the traditional records of his own teachings and those of his early disciples, which though full of exaggerations and inventions yet afford a small residuum of historical matter to the critical and philosophical reader, and to the wondrous monuments of the faith which he established which are to be found throughout India, especially in the Western parts of the Dakhan. Copies of these Buddhist records, in the Sanskrit language and Tibetan translations, were discovered and collected by one of India's most accomplished scholars (both as a linguist and a naturalist) and most able and public-spirited administrators, B. H. Hodgson. *extinction* in which sense (with a good array of authority) it is interpreted by Burnouf, Lassen, etc. The word in its technical meaning is used by the Jain disputants of the North West of India principally for absolute and undisturbable non-conscious quiescence. The difference between this idea and that of extinction is but very slight. One of the most interesting groups of hewn figures at the Caves of Ajanta, of gigantic dimensions, represents the death of Buddha. 'The sage in the scene is lying in a horizontal position. His earthly servants, standing round his couch are overcome with sorrow and grief while a band of heavenly choristers above is frantic with joy at the supposed liberation or extinction of his spirit.' Author's *Pensées on the Buddhist Excavations of Western India* prefixed to Johnson's *Photographs of the Caves of Karli*, p. 5. No symbol of the departed spirit is seen in this group. Dr. Judson (see his *Memoir by Dr. Wayland* in pp. 340-1) found nothing in the Buddhist in of Burnah to retain the system from the charge of absolute atheism. Dr. Judson, however, regarded the state of niroga (*nirvana*) as nothing less than a total extinction of soul and body.

son Esq, long Resident at the Court of Nepál, who also directed attention to their interesting contents in a series of valuable papers given by him to the Asiatic Societies of India and Europe*. Copies of them too were with princely liberality presented by Mr Hodgson to the Asiatic Societies of Bengal Great Britain and France They bore their first fruits in Paris through the zeal and perseverance of the late ingenious and learned Professor L. Burnouf, who made them the foundation of his 'Introduction à l'Histoire du Buddhisme Indien' which was published in 1844 and who also translated into French, one of the most important of them the *Saddharma Pandarika*, or 'Lotus de la Bonne Loi' which left the press a short time after his lamented death With the discovery of the Hodgson manuscripts, the researches in Tibet of Mr Alexander Csoma Kołosi—whose Analysis of the Dulva (a portion of the great *Kah-Gyur*) and Notices of the Life of Shikva, appeared in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Transactions in 1833 Schmidt's translation of portions of the Buddhist canon of Mongolia, and the translation and publication of the *Mulavanso* of Ceylon by the Hon George Tumouli which appeared in 1837 were nearly concurrent These interesting works have been followed by the translation from the Chinese of the Travels of the Buddhist Pilgrims Fa-hian and Hui-en Thsing in the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth, and in the seventh, centuries of the Christian era, by Remusat Kliproth, Lauth and Julien by a translation from the Tibetan of a History of Buddha, by Foucaux

* These papers, fifteen in number were collected by Mr Hodgson and republished by him at the Serampore press in 1841

by the publication, in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, of a portion of the Sanskrit *Lahita Vista*, the Legendary Life of Buddha edited by Babu Rajendralal Mitra, by the important works of the Rev Spence Hardy on Eastern Monachism and his Manual of Buddhism by the able papers of the Rev D J Gogerly of Ceylon, by the publication of the Pali text of the *Dhammapadam* by Dr Fausboll of Copenhagen by various papers on the Buddhist antiquities of Western India in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society * and by the learned treatises

* * The following is a list of the papers treating of them (the Buddhist remains) which appear in our late proceedings, according to the dates which they bear. On the Ashoka inscriptions at Girnar by Captain G LeG Jacob and N L Westergaard, Esq. Brief account of the Minor Buddha Caves of Bédsá and Bhujá near Kárla by N L Westergaard. Mr Pinsep's Correspondence with Dr Burn on Indian Antiquities. Historical Researches on the Origin and Principles of the Buddha and Jina Religions by James Bird, Esq. Correction of Errors in the Lithograph of the Girnar Inscriptions by Capt LeGrand Jacob. Memon on the Civic Temples and Monasteries and other Ancient Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jina remains of Western India by J hn Wilson. D D. Memorandum on some Buddhist Excavations near Kálid by H B F Tiere Esq. Note on the Rock Inscriptions in the Island of Silsette by J Stevenson. D D. Second Memoir on the Civic Temples and Monasteries and other Ancient Remains of Western India by J hn Wilson. D D. Historical Names and Facts contained in the Kanheri Inscriptions, by J Stevenson. D D. On the Nasik Caves Inscription by J Stevenson. D D. Buddhist Cave Temples in the Binkas of Baitul Wadi and Daulatabad, by W H Bradley Esq. Sihyadri Inscriptions by J Stevenson. D D. Description the Caves of Kálvi in Malwá by J Impey Esq. Descriptive Notices of Antiquities in Sindhi by H B F Tiere Esq. All these papers are in addition to the well known papers of Mr Erskine, Colonel Sykes, and Captain Dingwall and contain important information with statements of opinion and speculation worthy of respectful attention. Other valuable

of Koppen and St Hilaire. Ample material has thus been provided for a correct estimate of Buddhism in its general character and relationships though other contributions to its elucidation will still be welcomed by the public.* There can now be but little doubt of the view which Buddha took of Indian Caste.

papers on the matters to which I now refer, especially by Dr Stevenson and the Messrs. West have been laid before the Society —Author's Review of the Present State of Oriental Antiquarian and Geographical Research connected with the West of India in Journ. B. B. R. A. S. 1855. Since this article appeared, the transcript of the Kanheri Inscriptions by the Messrs. West has been published in the Bombay Journal for 1862. Dr Bhau Daji is reviewing them and others in a series of ingenious and learned papers. It is hoped that by degrees their contents will be fully ascertained.

* Of the Buddhist writings the following is a correct summary view by Professor H. H. Wilson

"According to the Buddhists themselves, the doctrines of Shâkyâ Muni were not committed to writing by him but were orally communicated to his disciples and transmitted in like manner by them to succeeding generations. When they were first written is not clearly made out from the traditions of the North, but they agree with those of the South in describing the occurrence of different public councils or convocations at which the senior Buddhist priest corrected the errors that had crept into the teaching of heterodox disciples and agreed upon the chief points of discipline and doctrine that were to be promulgated. The first of these councils was held, it is said immediately after Shâkyâ Muni's death the second 110, and the third 218 years afterwards or about 246 B. C. The Northern Buddhists confound apparently the second and third councils, or take no notice of the latter in the time of Ashoka, but placed the third in Kashmir under the patronage of Kanishka or Kanerka one of the Hindu Sylvic Kings 400 years after Buddha's Nirvana or B. C. 153. Both accounts agree that the propagation of Buddhism, by Missions dispatched for that purpose, took place after the third council."

Buddha found the system of Indian caste in existence and vigorous operation when he commenced his studies and teachings. In the oldest works of his disciples which treat of his life and doctrines, the first caste — of Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Shudras, — are frequently mentioned, and often in opposition to the Chandalas who are introduced as representatives of the non Brahmanical classes. The Brahmins are generally alluded to as *de facto* superior to the other classes in status, learning religious practice, and austerities. They are recognized as acquainted with the four Vedas, as in possession of the *mantis* or holy words as the dispensers and conductors of sacred rites to princes and peoples, as Brahmins by birth (*Jati-Brahmanah*) and Brahmins by learning (*Veda-Brahmanah*) as resorting to agriculture only in times of circumstances of distress, as practising astrology and soothsaying and as receiving gifts of goods, treasure

"According to the traditions which are current in the South as well as the North the classification of the Buddhist authorities as the Tripitaka (the three collections) took place at the first council the portion termed *Sutra* the doctrinal parts, being compiled by Ananda the *Vinaya* or discipline of the priesthood, by Upali and the *Abhidharma* or philosophical portion by Kashyapa, all three Buddha's disciples. Their compilations were revised at the second council and were finally established as canonical at last. Their being compiled however does not necessarily imply their being written and according to the Northern Buddhists, they were not committed to writing until after the convocation in Kashmir or 100 B.C. while the Southern authorities state, that they were preserved by memory for 40 years and were then first reduced to writing in Ceylon — Journ of R.A.S. vol. xxv p. 239. In the paper from which this extract is made Professor Wilson expresses his doubt of the system of the Buddha having had any specific founder Shakya Min, he is inclined to consider only a myth cal personage.

and land for their services. The Kshatriyas, with whom, as we have already seen Buddha himself was connected, are noticed as a governing class, and most of the more important of them embraced the system of faith and practice of which he was the parent, and used their influence in behalf of that system even to the humiliation of the Brahmins. Other Castes, such as those of the Venukarās, Rathikās, Pukkarās, Buburās, Alins or Heidsmen, are viewed in the writings to which we refer as inferior both in station and privilege to the Brahmins and Kshatriyas. The Buddhist Sutras too recognize the duty or custom of each person to marry in his own caste, and to follow the profession of his ancestors. They ascribe baseness and elevation of birth to sin practised or to merit accumulated in former births according to the prevailing doctrine of the metempsychosis. Yet the Lalita Vistara in giving an account of the choice of a wife for Buddha by his father Shuddhodana, represents the father as giving instructions that the wife should be chosen according to her qualities, from either a Brahman, a Kshatriya, a Vushya or a Shūli family.* This work however was probably composed, only little more than a century before the Christian era.

‘ While society was in this state —to quote from M. E. Burnouf,— there was born in one of the families of the Kshatriyas that of the Shakvas of Kapilavastu, which professed to be descended from the Solar race of Kings, a young prince who at the age of twenty nine renounced the world, and became a devotee under the name of *Shakya Mum*, or *Shaman Gautama*. His doctrine

* Lalita Vistara, adh. xii (p. 159 Calc. ed.)

which according to the [Buddhist] Sutras was more moral than metaphysical, at least in its principle, rested on an opinion admitted as a fact, and upon a hope presented as a certainty. The opinion was that the visible world is in a state of perpetual change, that death succeeds life, and life death; that man, as well as all that surrounds him, revolves in an eternal circle of transmigration, that he passes in succession through all the varieties of life from the most elementary to the most perfect; that the place which he occupies in the vast scale of living beings depends on the merit of the actions he performs in the world, and that thus the virtuous man is to be reborn after death with a divine body and the wicked with a degraded body, that the rewards of heaven and the punishments of hell are only for a limited period, like the things of this world, that time exhausts the merit of virtuous actions as it effaces the faults of the wicked and that the fated law of change extends over the world, over the gods, and over the damned (in hell). The hope which Shakya Muni gave to men was the possibility of escaping this law of change, by entering into what is called *nirvana*, that is to say annihilation. The positive sign of this annihilation was death, but a prevent sign announced in this life the man predestined to this supreme deliverance, it was the possession of unlimited knowledge which enabled him to see the world with all its moral and physical laws, and to sum up all in a single word, it was the practice of the six transcendental perfections—almsgiving, morality, knowledge, energy, patience and charity. The authority on which the devotee of the race of Shakya rested his teaching was entirely personal and was formed of two

elements, the one real, and the other ideal. The first was the regularity and sanctity of his conduct, of which chastity, patience, and charity formed the principal features. The second was the claim he had to be a Buddha, that is Enlightened [rather The-endowed-with-intelligence], and consequently possessed of superhuman knowledge and power. By his power he wrought miracles, by his knowledge he called up before himself the past and the future in a clear and complete form. By it he could tell what any man had done in a previous state of existence, and he affirmed that an infinite number of beings had like himself already attained by the practice of the same virtues to the dignity of a Buddha before entering into a state of complete annihilation. In fine, he presented himself to men as their Saviour, and promised that his death should not be the annihilation of his doctrine, but that that doctrine should continue for a great number of ages after him, and that when its salutary influence should cease a new Buddha, whom he announced by name, should come into the world, who before having to descend to the earth had, according to the legends consecrated himself in heaven to be a future Buddha. *

The same distinguished orientalist from whom we have now quoted thus more particularly notices the view taken by Buddha of Indian society, and the modifications which he introduced into it in connexion with Caste. "His avowed aim was to save men from the miserable conditions of existence which they found in this world, and to free them from the fated law of transmigration. He ad-

* Barnouf *Introduct. à l'Histoire du Buddhisme Indien*, 1. pp 152, 3. His references in proof are to the *Lalita Vistara*, fol. 45 of his MS and to the *Life of Shakya* in *As. Res.* vol. xx p. 287

mitted that the practice of virtue ensured to a good man a future sojourn in heaven, and the enjoyment of a better existence. But no one viewed this as a definitive state of well-being to become a god was to be born again in order one day to die and the object was to escape for ever the necessity of being born again and dying. The distinction of Castes was in the view of Shakya an accident in the existence of men here below—an accident which he recognized, but could not prevent. This is why the Castes appear in all the Sutras and legends which I have read as an established fact against which Shakya does not make a single political objection. This was so much the case that when a party attached to the service of a prince wished to embrace the life of a devotee Shakya did not receive him till the prince had given his consent. [This is illustrated by a legend from the Avadana Shataka] This respect of Shakya for the royal authority has left its traces even on modern Buddhism, and it is one of the fundamental rules for the ordination of a Devotee or Mendicant [Bhikshu] that he should reply in the negative to the question Art thou in the service of the king?* Shakya admitted, then the

* [One of the questions asked (in Pali) at the candidate for admission into the order of Devotee (Bhikshu) is न सी राजभूमे—Thou art not a soldier of the King? The reply is आम मन्त्रे—I am not O venerable-ones. See Kumanvakhya, edited by Dr. Spiegel p. 5. The novice is exhorted according to this formula of initiation to eat the food left by others except on particular occasions to wear only garments dyed with clay to live usually at the roots of trees to use cow's urine as a medicament and only occasionally ghee butter oil honey and sugar to abstain altogether from intercourse with women to abstain from telling even that of a lie if to abstain from killing animals etc.]

hierarchy of Castes he even explained it, as did the Brahmans by the theory of punishments and rewards, and as often as he instructed a man of low condition, he did not fail to attribute the baseness of his birth to the sins he had committed in a former life. To convert a man of whatever condition, then, was in the view of Shákya to give him the means of escaping from transmigration. "Shákya opened then to all castes without distinction the way of salvation, from which their birth had before excluded the greater number and he made them equal among themselves, and in his own estimation, by conferring upon them investiture with the rank of Devotees. In this last respect he went much further than the philosophers Kapila and Patanjali who had begun a work somewhat resembling that which the Buddhists afterwards accomplished. By attacking as useless the works prescribed by the Veda, and by substituting for them the practice of personal asceticism Kapila had placed within the reach of all in principle at least if not in reality, the title of Ascetic, which previous to that time had been the distinction and almost exclusive privilege of the life of a Brahman. Si kva did more than this he gave to isolated philosophers the organization of a religious body. We thus find the explanation of two facts the facility with which Buddhism must have been originally propagated, and the opposition which Brahmanism naturally made to its progress. The Brahmans had no objections to make to Shákya so long as he restricted himself to work out as a philosopher the future deliverance of man, and to assure him of the liberation which I have already characterized as absolute.

But they could not admit the possibility of that actual deliverance, that relative liberation which tended to nothing short of the destruction in a given time, of the subordination of Castes as regarded religion. This is how Shákya attacked the foundation of the Indian system and it indicates that a time could not fail to come, when the Brahmans placed at the head of that system, would feel the necessity of proscribing a doctrine of which the consequences could not escape them *

It is evident from all this,—which is perfectly consistent with what is found in the oldest Buddhist Sutras and Legends,—that Shakya Muni did not directly oppose the state of matters religious and social which he found to exist in Indian society. He thought that he had found out a better and shorter way to get rid of the evils of life, and he brought his own plan to notice in the most effective manner. He became himself, as we have seen an ascetic, and he strove by strictness and purity of life, more than by harshness of discipline to become the best of ascetics and to elevate himself to a moral position, superior even to that of the *Tirthyas* or dwellers at holy places and the most ascetic of the Brahmans. His tenets and practices he brought conspicuously to notice by the public preaching of himself and his disciples, avoiding that monopoly of knowledge and instruction to which the Brahmans had laid claim. All classes of society without any peculiar privilege from Caste were invited to join the order which he established, with the full expectation of receiv-

* Burnouf ut sup. 1 pp. 210-219

ing their highest advantages He disparaged and eschewed, though he did not directly condemn, a hereditary priesthood He pretended, if we may believe his followers to work miracles and to be himself a miracle of knowledge He carried his sympathies too much farther beyond the human family than had been done before his day He interdicted all animal sacrifice and all slaying of animals even for the purpose of food ordering the rules of eating and drinking so as to make them accord with this object Aided by numerous associates and by some of the most powerful of the Indian princes he effected a revolution in Indian society Multitudes made him their leader, his system gained a political importance particularly through Ashoka the grandson of Chandragupta (the Soudicottus of the Greeks) and his faith through the zeal of his adherents, and the notice which its wondrous structural buildings and excavations (then novelties in India) attracted became predominant in India for ages and was carried to other lands where it still exists, though not with its pristine vigour Even the forest tribes of India as may be seen from the ornamental figures of the cave-temples and monasteries of Western India are represented as joyfully doing him homage Denying the existence of the Divinity he made himself, or suffered himself to be made a god His images through the efforts of his followers, soon filled the temples the gods of the Hindu pantheon being thence banished or their appearing is subordinate to himself His was become more glorious than that of the Buddha in the eye of the multitude the *Shramana*

taking the precedence of the *Brāhmaṇa** Though some Brahmins became his willing pupils, the Brāhmaṇical body soon appeared in opposition to him. His followers in their turn began to oppose the Brahmins and ultimately placed themselves to them in an attitude of unmitigated hostility. The strife continued even during the ages of Buddhist ascendancy. The Brahman power as will be onwards noticed ultimately proved victorious within the bounds of India proper.

The final attitude of Buddhism to Caste cannot be better illustrated than by the Buddhist tract attributed to Ashva Ghoṣha. This witty production was discovered by Mr. Hodgson in Nepal in 1829. 'A few days since (he writes in July 11th, 1829) "my learned old Baudha friend brought me a little tract in Sanskrit, with such an evident air of pride and pleasure, that I immediately asked him what it contained. 'Oh my friend,' was his reply, 'I have been long trying to procure for you this work, in the assurance that you must highly approve the wit and wisdom contained in it, and after many applications to the owner I have at length obtained the loan of it for three or four days. But I cannot let you have it or even a copy of it, such being the conditions on which I procured you a sight of it. These words of my old friend stimulated my curiosity, and with a few fair words I engaged the old gentleman to lend me and my pandit his aid in making a translation of it.' This

* The designation of *Shramana* (a practitioner of *shrama*, toil or austerity) does not necessarily mean a Buddhist devotee but as opposed to Brahmana, it has this meaning in which it always occurs in the Buddhist writings.

translation appeared in the third volume of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, and was afterwards reprinted in Mr Hodgson's Illustrations of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhists. I have compared it throughout with a manuscript of the original presented to me by the late L. Wilkinson, Esq., a most able and zealous member of the Bombay Civil Service, and found it to be both sufficiently accurate, and spirited.* I here give it a place, interpolating a few explanations and adding a few notes. The Buddhist author, it must be borne in mind, reasons ex concessu throughout, from what he supposes to be the Brâhmanical writings.

Vajra Shuchi

' I Ashva Ghosha first invoking Manju Ghosha † the Guru of the world, with all my soul and all my strength, proceed to compose the book called *Vajra Shuchi* [the Adamantine Needle] in according with the Shastras [or rather established opinion, *Mata*]

Allow then that your Védas and Smritis, and works involving both *Dharma* and *Artha*‡ are good and valid, and that discourses at variance with them are invalid, still what you say that the Brâhman is the highest of the four Castes, cannot be proved from these books.

Tell me first of all what is Brâhmanhood? Is it life, or parentage,§ or body, or wisdom or the way [rather practice *achâra*] or acts i. e. that is morality (*karma*) or the Védas (learning in the Védas)

If you say that it is life (*jiva*) such an assertion cannot be reconciled with the Vedas for it is written in the Védas that the sun and

* The *Vajra Shuchi* was printed by Mr Wilkinson in 1839, with an acute but sophistical comment on it by Subají Bâpu.

† [Probably a Buddhist sage. See Burnouf *Lotus de la Bonne Loi* p. 509.]

‡ [*Dharma* (duty) *Artha* (aim) *Kama* (desire), and *Moksha* (liberation) are the four objects of human existence according to Hindoos.]

§ [In the MS. sent to me by Mr Wilkinson the word for this (given onward, i. e. *jati*, or birth rather than parentage) is omitted.]

the moon, and other deities were at first quadrupeds, and some other deities were first animals and afterwards became gods, even the vilest of the vile (*shūpaka*) have become gods.* From these words it is clear that Bráhmanhood is not life (*jīva*) a position which is further proved from these words of the (Mahá) Bhárata seven hunters and ten deer of the hill Kálinjala, a goose of the lake Mánasa sara a Chakravaka of the Sharadvípa, all these were born as Brahmans in the *Kurukshetra* (near Delhi), and became very learned in the Védas It is also said by Manu in his Dharmashástra, " Whatever Bráhman learned in the four Védas with their *Angas* and *Upángas*, shall take charity [fees or gifts] from a Shudra, shall for twelve births be an ass, and for sixty births a hog and seventy births a dog † From these words it is clear that Bráhmanhood is not life for if it were, how could such things be ?

If, again you say that Bráhmanhood depends on parentage or birth (*jati*) that is, that to be a Bráhman one must be born of Brahma parents.—this notion is at variance with the known passage of the Smṛti, that Achala Muni was born of an elephant, and Késha Pingala of an owl and Agastya Muni from the Agasti flower, and Kausika Muni from the Kusha grass and Kapila from a monkey, and Gautama Rishi from a creeper that entwined a Sala tree, and Drona Achárya from an earthen pot and Taittri Rishi from a partridge, and (Parashu) Ráma from dust, and Shringa Rishi from a deer, and Vyása Muni from a fisherwoman and Kaushika Muni from a female Shúdra, and Vishvámitra from a Chándalí and Vasishtha Muni from a strumpet Not one of them had a Bráhman mother, and yet all were notoriously called Bráh-

[The text of this passage is the following —

ओम् । सूर्यं पश्चुरासीत् । सामं पश्चरासीत् ।

ईन्द्रं पश्चुरासीत् । पश्चात्पैवा ।

आदृते देवा पश्चव । श्वपाका भविष्यदेवा भवति ।

—literally The Sun was an animated being [or the (great) Soul, according to the Vedántists] the Moon was an animated being Indra was an animated being animated beings (were) the gods moreover the gods were animal beings the dog eaters were at first gods]

† [The taking of gifts by Brahmans from Shúdras is forbidden in Mu u but not in the t rm] [sic alleged]

mans whence I infer, that the title is a distinction of popular origin and cannot be traced to parentage from written authorities *

Should you again say that whoever is born of a Brâhman father or mother is a Brâhman then the child of a slave [Dâsa] even may become a Brâhman a consequence to which I have no objection, but which will not consort with your notions I fancy

Do you say that he who is sprung of Brâhman parents is a Brâhman ? Still I object that, since you must mean pure and true Brâhmans, in such case the breed of Brâhmans must be at an end since the fathers of the parent race of Brâhmans are not, any of them free from the suspicion of having wives, who notoriously commit adultery with Shudras Now if the real father be a Shudra, the son cannot be a Brâhman, notwithstanding the Brâhmanhood of his mother From all which I infer that Brâhmanhood is not truly derivable from birth and I draw fresh proofs of this from the Manava Dharma, which affirms that the Brâhman who eats flesh loses instantly his rank and also that by selling wax or salt, or milk he becomes a Shudra in three days and further, that even such a Brâhman as can fly like a bird directly ceases to be a Brâhman by meddling with the fleshpots. From all this is it not clear that Brâhmanhood is not the same with birth? since, if that were the case, it could not be lost by any acts however degrading Knew you ever of a flying horse that by alighting on earth was turned into a pig ?— The impossible

Say you that body (*sharva*) is the Brâhman ? this too is false, for, if body be the Brâhman, then fire, when the Brâhman's corpse is consumed by it, will be the murderer of a Brâhman, and such also will be every

* [When such absurdities as those mentioned in this paragraph found entrance into the more modern Indian legendry (in which they still occupy a place) it is difficult to say Some things resembling them occur in the Digvarga of the Amarakosha, probably of the first century of the Christian era Agastya, for example is there called *Kumbhaambhaava* produced from a jar Angiras to be *Chitrashulaandita*, born of a peacock and Aruna to be *Garudagragaja*, born of the beak of Garuda or the eagle The whole is equivalent to what would be such conceits as that Lord Bacon was born of the loin of a pig that Mr Partridge, the able eccentric visitor of Garibaldi was born of the game bird of the same name and that the learned Mr Sheepshanks was born of the trotter of a ram]

one of the Brahman's relatives who consigned his body to the flames. Nor less will this other absurdity follow that every one born of a Brahman than his mother were a Kshatriya or a Vaishya [or Shudra] would be a Brahman—being bone of the bone and flesh of the flesh of his father a monstrosity you will allow that was never heard of. Again not performing sacrifice and causing others to perform it, reading and causing to read receiving and giving charity and other holy acts sprung from the body of the Brahman? Is then the virtue of all these destroyed by the destruction of the body of a Brahman? Surely not, according to your own principles and if not then Brahmanhood cannot consist in body.

Say you that wisdom* constitutes the Brahman? This too is incorrect. Why? Because if it were true many Shudras must have become Brahmins from the gift we dem they acquired. I myself I know many Shudras who are initiates of the four Vedas, and of philosophy and of the Mimamsa and Smritis and Vaisesika and Jyotihika and philosophies yet not one of them is or ever was called a Brahman. It is clearly proved then that Brahmanhood consists not in wisdom or learning.

Then do you affirm that the Acharya's Brahmanhood? This too is false for if it were true many Shudras would become Brahmanas since many Kshatriyas and Bhratas and Kshavasis and Bhandas and others are everywhere to be seen performing the set rest and mostibus acts of priests. I not one of these however is so prominent in their Acharya is ever called a Brahman from which it is clear that Acharya does not constitute the Brahman.

Say you that *Janaka* makes the Brahman? I answer no for the argument used above applies here with even greater force altogether annihilating the notion that set constitutes the Brahman.

Do you declare that by reading the *Janaka* man becomes a Brahman? This is palpably false for it is notorious that the *Janaka* Rishi was deeply versed in all the four Vedas [the Rig Veda, Yajurveda, Sama Veda and Atharva Veda] and that indeed, all the *Rishikas* studied the *Janaka* in *Janaka's* time yet you do not say

* Perhaps I should say the brahminized learned. This word in the original is *Janaka*.

that one of them thereby became a Brahman. It is therefore proved that no one becomes a Bráhman by reading the *Védas*.

What then is this creature called a Bráhman? If neither reading the *Védas* nor *samskaras*, [sacraments] nor parentage, nor race (*kula*) nor acts (*karma*) confers Brahmanhood what does or can? To my mind Brahmanhood is merely an immaculate quality like the snowy whiteness of the Kundha flower. That which removes sin is Brahmanhood. It consists of *Vrata* and *Tapa* and *Niyama*, and *Upavasa*, and *Dána*, and *Dama* and *Shama*, and *Sanyama*. It is written in the *Védas* that the gods hold that man to be a Bráhman who is free from intemperance and egotism and from *Sanga*, and *Parigraha* and *Rága* and *Dvesha*. Moreover it is written in all the Shástras that the signs of a Bráhman are these, truth, penance, the command of the organs of sense, and mercy, as those of a Chándala are the vices opposed to those virtues. Another mark of the Bráhman is a scrupulous abstinence from sexual commerce, whether he be born a god or a man or a beast*. Yet further Shukra (Achárya) has said that the gods take no heed of Caste, but deem him to be the Bráhman who is a good man although he belong to the vilest. From all which I infer that birth and life and body and wisdom, and observance of religious rites (Achara) and acts (Karma), are all of no avail towards becoming a Bráhman.

Then again, that opinion of your sect, that *Pravrajya* is prohibited to the Shúdra and that for him service and obedience paid to Bráhmans are instead of *Pravrajya*,—because, forsooth, in speaking of the four castes the Shúdra is mentioned last, and is therefore the vilest—is absurd for if it were correct, Indra would be made out to be the lowest and meanest of beings, Indra being mentioned in the (*Parni*) *Suba* after the dog thus—“*Shva Pura, Magharan*”†. In truth the order in which they are mentioned or written cannot affect the relative rank and dignity of the beings spoken of. What is Purvati greater than Mahesha? or are the teeth superior in dignity to the lips because we find the latter postponed to the

* [This is according to the Buddhist view. The Indian Bráhmans have practised marriage from the earliest ages.]

† [A name of Indra in the *Védas*.]

former for the mere sake of euphony in some grammar sentence? Are the teeth older than the lips or does your creed teach you to postpone Shiva to his spouse? No nor any more is it true that the Shudra is vile and the Brahman high and mighty because we are used to repeat the *Chatur Varna* [four castes] in a particular order. And if this proposition be untenable, your deduction from it viz that the vile Shudra must be content to regard his service and obedience to Brahmins as his only *Pravrajya** fails likewise to the ground.

Know further that it is written in the Dharma Shastra of Manu, that the Brahman who has drank the milk of a Shudra or has been even breathed upon by a Shudra or has been born of such a female is not restored to his rank by *Prayaschitta* †. In the same work it is further asserted that if any Brahman eat a drink from the hands of a Shudra he becomes in life a Shudra, and after death a dog. Manu further says that a Brahman who associates with female Shudras or keeps a Shudra concubine shall be rejected by gods and ancestors, and after death shall go to hell. From all these assertions of the Manava Dharma, it is clear that Brahmanhood is not so in defeasibly attached to any race or breed, but is merely a quality of good men. Further it is written in the Shasra of Manu that many Shudras became Brahmins by force of their piety for example Kathina Muni who was born of the sacrificial flame produced by the friction of wood became a Brahman by dint of Tapas and Vasishtha Muni born of the courtesan Urvashi and Vraca Muni, born of a female of the fisherman's caste and Pishyushranga Muni born of a doe and Vishvamitra, born of a Chandalu and Narada Muni, born of a female spider, all these became Brahmins by virtue of their Tapas. If it not clear then Brahmanhood depends not on birth? It is also notorious that he who has conquered himself is a *Yati* that he who performs penance is a *Tantrika* and that he who observes the *Brahmacharya* is a Brahmin. It is clear then that he whose life is pure, and his temper cheerful is the true Brahman and that lineage (*Kula*) has nothing to do with the matter. There are these *Shlokas* in the Manava Dhuma "Goodness of disposition and purity are the best of all things lineage is not alone deserving

of respect. If the race be royal and virtue be wanting to it it is contemptible and useless. Kithuni Muni and Vjisi Muni and other sages, though born of Shudras are famous among men as Brahmans, and many persons born in the lowest ranks have attained to heaven by the practice of uniform good conduct (*shila*). To say therefore that the Brahman is of one particular race is idle and false.

Your doctrine that the Brahman was produced from the mouth, the Kshatriya from the arms, the Vaishya from the thighs, and the Shudras from the feet, cannot be supported. Brahmans are not of one particular race. Many persons have lived who belonged to the *Karavata* [fishermen] *lula* and the *Rajda* [war-herman] *lula* and the *Chandala* *lula* and yet while they existed in this world performed the *Chuda Kavma* [head shaving] and *Munj bandhana* [tying the sacred string] and [applying the] *Danta Aishtha* [tooth rinsing wood] and other acts appropriated to Brahmans and after their deaths became, and still are famous under the Brahman.

All that I have said about Brahmans you must know is equally applicable to Kshatriyas and that the doctrine of the four castes is altogether false. All men are of one caste.

Wonderful! you affirm that all men proceeded from one i.e. Brahma how then can there be a fourfold insuperable diversity among them? If I have four sons by one wife the four sons having one father and mother must be all essentially alike. Know too that distinctions of race among beings are broadly marked by differences of conformations and organization thus the foot of the elephant is very different from that of the horse, that of the tiger unlike that of the deer and so of the rest and by that single diagnosis we learn that those animals belong to very different races. But I never heard that the foot of a Kshatriya was different from that of a Brahman or that of a Shudra. All men are formed alike and are clearly of one race. Further the generative organ, the colour, the figure, the ordure, the urine, the odour in all utterance of the ox, the buffalo, the horse, the elephant, the as, the monkey, the goat, the he-goat etc furnish clear diagnostics whereby to separate these various races of animals but in all those respects the Brahman resembles the Kshatriya and is therefore of the same race or species with him. I have said enough among quadrupeds the diversities which separate diverse genera. I now proceed to give some more instances from among birds. Thus

the goose the dove, the parrot, the peacock etc. are known to be different by their diversities of figure, and colour and plumage and beak but the Brahman, Kshatriya Vaishya, and Shudra are alike without and within How then can we say they are essentially distinct ? Again among trees, the Vata and Bihuli and Pal shi and Ashok and Tamala, and Nigakshana and Shirisha and Chunchal & and others are clearly contradistinguished by their stems and leaves and flowers and fruits and barks and timber, and seeds and juices and odours but Brahmans, and Kshatriyas and the rest are alike in flesh and skins and blood and bones, and figure and excrements and mode of birth It is surely then clear that they are of one species or race Again, tell me is a Brahman's sense of pleasure and pain different from that of the Kshatriya ? Does not the one sustain life in the same way and find death from the same causes as the other ? Do they differ in intellectual faculties, in their actions or the objects of those actions in the manner of their birth or in their subjection to fear and hope ? not a whit * It is therefore clear that they are essentially the same In the Udumbara and Panasa trees the fruit is produced from the branches, the stem the joints, and the roots † Is one fruit therefore different from another, so that we may call that produced from the top of the stem the Brahman fruit, and that from the roots the Shudra fruit ? Surely not Nor can men be of four distinct races because they sprang from four different parts of one body You say that the Brahmin was produced from the mouth whence was the Brahmin produced ? From the mouth likewise ? Grant it and then you must marry the brother to the sister ! a pretty business indeed if such incest is to have place in this world of ours, all distinctions of right and wrong must be obliterated

This consequence, flowing inevitably from your doctrine that the Brahman proceeded from the mouth proves the falsity of that doctrine The distinctions between Brahmans Kshatriyas Vaishyas, and Shudras, are founded merely on the observance of divers rites, and the practice

* [Mr Hodgson justly says The manner in which our author treats this part of his subject is, in my judgment admirable and altogether worthy of a European mind Indeed it bears the closest resemblance to the style of argument used by Shakespeare in the Merchant of Venice Hath not a Jew eyes etc]

† [The Udumbara is the *Ficus glomerata* and the Panasa, the *Artocarpus integrifolia*.]

of different professions, as is clearly proved by the conversation of Vaishampáyana Rishi with Yudhishthira Rájá, which was as follows. One day the son of Pandu, named Yudhishthira, who was the wise man of his age joining his hands reverentially, asked Vaishampáyana, whom do you call a Brahman, and what are the signs of Brahmanhood? Vaishampáyana answered, the first sign of a Brahman is, that he possesses long suffering and the rest of the virtues, and never is guilty of violence and wrong-doing, that he never eats flesh and never hurts a sentient thing. The second sign is that he never takes that which belongs to another without the owner's consent, even though he find it in the road. The third sign is that he masters all worldly affections and desires, and is absolutely indifferent of earthly considerations. The fourth whether he is born a man, or a god or a beast, he never yields to sexual desires. The fifth that he possesses the following five pure qualities, truth, mercy, command of the senses, universal benevolence and penance *. Whoever possesses these five signs of Brahmanhood I acknowledge to be a Brahman, and, if he possess them not he is a Shúdra. Brahmanhood depends not on race (*Kula*) or birth, (*Jati*) nor on the performance of certain ceremonies. If a Chanda is virtuous, and possesses the signs above noted, he is a Brahman. Oh! Yudhishthira, formerly in this world of ours there was but one caste. The division into four castes originated with diversity of rites and avocations. All men were born of woman in like manner. All are subject to the same physical necessities, and have the same organs and senses. But he whose conduct is uniformly good is a Brahman and if it be otherwise he is a Shúdra, aye, lower than a Shudra. The Shudra who, on the other hand, possesses these virtues is a Brahman.

Oh, Yudhishthira! If a Shudra be superior to the allurements of the five senses to give him charity is a virtue that will be rewarded in heaven. Need not his caste, but only mark his qualities. Whoever in this life ever does well and is ever ready to benefit others, spending his days and nights in good acts, such an one is a Brahman, and who even, relinquishing worldly ways, employs himself solely in the

* The word in the original is *Tapas* which we are accustomed to translate penance, and I have followed the usage, though ascetism would be a better word. The proud *Tapas* whom the very gods regard with dread never dreams of contrition and repentance.

acquisition of Moksha, such an one also is a Brahman, and whoever resigns from destruction of life, and from worldly affections and evil acts, and is free from passion and backbiting, such an one also is a Brahman and whoso possesses *Ishtama* [forgiveness], *dayā* [mercy], *dama* [subjection of the passions], *dāna* [liberality] *satya* [truthfulness] *shauchana* [purity], *smṛiti* [knowledge of law], *ghrīna* [tenderness], *vidya* [learning] and *vyavāna* [discernment] etc. is a Brahman. Oh Yudhishthira if a person perform the Brahmacārya for one night, the merit of it is greater than that of a thousand sacrifices (*Yajna*) And whoso has read all the Vedas, and performed all the *Pūrṇas* and observed all the commands and prohibitions of the *Shāstra*, such an one is a Brahman¹ and whoso has never injured a sentient thing by act, word, or thought, such a person shall instantly be absorbed (at his death) in Brahma Such were the words of Vaishampayana Oh my friend, my design in the above discourse is that all ignorant Brahmins and others should acquire wisdom by studying it, and take to the right way Let them, if they approve it, heed it and if they approve it not, let them neglect its admonitions

Of the tune of the production of this curious and pungent tract, it is difficult to form an opinion Mr Hodgson says, "Who Ashva Ghosha, the author, was, when he flourished and where, I cannot ascertain All that is known of him at Nepal is that he was a Maha-Pandit or great sage, and wrote, besides the little treatise now translated, two larger Buddhist works of high repute, the names of which are mentioned in a note" * Burnouf asks whether Ashva Ghosha was the celebrated devotee, whose name is rendered in Chinese by *Ma ming* (the voice of a horse), and who according to the Japanese Encyclopædia, was the twelfth Buddhist patriarch after the death of Shakya Muni, or some more modern devotee of the same

* Buddhist Charitra Kavya, and the Nandi Mukhasugoshā Avadāna, and other works Hodgson's Ill of Lit and Rel of the Buddhists, pp 193 &

name* I am inclined to believe that the work has been long known, to a greater or less extent, even on the continent of India. Mr Wilkinson obtained his copy of it from a Bráhman of the town of Nasik, at Bhopál in Central India. The Rev Dr Glasgow lately sent me a catalogue of a deceased Brahman's library offered for private sale. I observed in it an entrance—"The *Vajra Shúchi*", and having asked this tract, and obtained it, through the kindness of my learned friend, I find that it professes to be the composition of the celebrated Shankara Acharya (of the eighth century of the Christian era), the copy having been made in Samvat 1845—A D 1730. The first part of this Brahmanic treatise is a brief memoriter summary of the argument of the Buddhist tract, as will appear from the following literal translation which I make of it.

Here the *Vajra Shuchi* [the Adamantine Needle] is written. Hari ! Om ! I begin to publish the Adamantine Needle, the piercer of the ignorance of the Shastra, the stigma of the destitute of knowledge, the ornament of the intelligent. That the Bráhman is the chief of the four castes (*Varna*) the Bráhman, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shúdra, is declared in the *Vedas*, and is set forth by the *Smritis*. And this is the beginning. What is that which is called a Bráhman? Is it life (*ayu*)? Is it body (*deha*)? Is it birth (*jati*)? Is it colour (*varna*)? Is it learning (*paaditya*)? Is it religion (*dharma*)? Is it liberality (*dharmaatyā*)? Is it works (*karma*)? These are the eight objections (brought forward).

First suppose that Life is the thing. Then, it being so the form of life being the same in all men, life cannot be the Bráhman.

And, again, suppose the Bráhman to be Body. Then from the disease and mortality apparent in the body of all men down to the Chandala, it is evident that body cannot be the Bráhman. Again, if body be the Bráhman, then from the concremation of the bodies

* *Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien* : pp 215-16

of fathers and mothers by sons, the son of Brahmacide would attach itself to them. Wherefore body cannot be the Bráhman.

And suppose Colour to be the Bráhman (and that it is the case that) the Bráhman is of white colour, the Kshatriya is of red colour the Vaishya is of yellow colour, the Shudra is of black colour * then from the appearance of the mixture of colour among all the classes including that of the Bráhmans it is evident that colour is not the Bráhman.

Again suppose Works to be the Bráhman. According to this, the Bráhman of white colour lives (or would live) a hundred years the Kshatriya, the half (of this number fifty years) the Vaishya, the half (of this number twenty five years) and the Shudra, the half (of this number, twelve and a half years). From there being no such rule, it is evident that work constitutes not the Bráhman.

Again, suppose Birth to be the Bráhman. Then there are many great Rishis who have been of strange birth. Rishyashringa was born of a deer. Kaushika was from a stalk of the Kusha-grass (*Poa Cynosuroides*). Gautama was (born) from the back of a hair. Valmika (was born) from an anthill, Vyasa (was born from) the daughter of a fisherman (*Kavartala*). Vasishtha (was born) of a Vaishya woman. Vishvamitra (was born) of a Kshatriya female. Agasti was born from a water jar, Mandukya was born from the flower of the Manduka (*Bignon* *Indica*). Mátanga was the son of a Matanga (a low tribe). Parishara [the father of Vyasa] was born from a female Chandala. Nuada was the son of a Dasa — so it is set forth in the Puranas. These parties on account of their distinguished knowledge obtained Bráhmanhood and pre-eminence, though without birth, as certainly reported.

Again, if Learning be supposed to constitute Bráhmanhood it is found that there are many Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudras, etc. who have great knowledge of categories (padarthi) and logical processes (vákyaprámanas), and that consequently learning does not constitute the Bráhman.

Again if Religion be supposed to constitute the Bráhman there are many Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras etc. who have in religious observance performed meritorious works (*lalupurta*) and consequently Religion does not constitute the Bráhman.

This alleged diversity of colour in the primitive Castes is noticed in the *Mañjusharabharata* xi. v. 631. See also *Māraśītī* vi. 1 p. 401.

Again if Liberality be supposed to constitute the Brahman, there are many Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudras, who have given gifts of daughters, gifts of cows gifts of gold gifts of she buffaloes and therefore liberality does not constitute the Brahman

What then [constitutes the Bráhman]? He who sees the import of Bráhma as clearly as one who holds [the fruit of the] A malaka in his hand and who is without lust, anger hatred, etc [and has] quiet and self-restraint and from whom pleasure pride envy, desire folly, and other evil affections are removed, is declared to be a Bráhman A Shudra by birth becoming a Bráhmacharya is declared to be a *daya* (one twice born), by practice in the Vedas, he becomes a *Vipra* (an intelligent one) and by the knowledge of Brahma, he becomes a *Brahman* *

This reasoning is in substance that of the Buddhist Vajra Shuchi The tract proceeds to dispose of the representations now quoted on the usual principles of the Vedantists,—not disparaging the caste of the Bráhmans but holding the knowledge of Brahma to be essential to its perfection It appears to me that its author thus ingeniously seeks to weaken the Buddhist argument, which must have been current in the country before he considered it expedient to interfere with it

And here it is proper to observe that though the Vaishnava Bráhmans—the modern sectarian followers of Vishnu—have most absurdly alleged that Buddha was a descent (*avatára*), and the Shaiva Bráhmans,—the sectarian followers of Shiva—that he was a personal manifestation (*rupadhára*) of Vishnu,† effected for the

* Shunkara Aclarya vrachat yu upanishat subedhunya : Vajra Shuchi pp 14

† Then in the course of the Kali (Yuga) for distressing the enemies of the Suras (gods) he will be born among the Kikatas, as Buddha, the son of Anjana Bhagavata Purana, 1 3 24 See pages of a similar kind referred to in Kennedy on Ancient and Hindu Mythology p 250

purpose of destroying the merit of a righteous king whose worth they allege came into depressing competition with that of the gods themselves, they have all along rightly interpreted the principles of Buddhism while strenuously opposing them

In the interesting *Natak* or Play, entitled the *Mrichchhalatika* or Toy Cart attributed to king Sudraka and supposed by Professor H H Wilson to have been composed about a century before the Christian era, a Shramanaka or Buddhist mendicant, is represented as thus singing —

Be virtue, friends, your only store,
And restless appetite restrain
Beat meditation's drum and song
Your watch against each sense mountan
The thief that still in ambush lie.
To make devotion's wealth his prize

Cast the five senses all away
That trample o'er the virtuous will
The pride of self importance slay
And ignorance remorseless kill
So shall you safe the body guard,
And Heaven shall be your last reward

Why shave the head and mow the chin
While bristling follies choke the breast
Apply the knife to parts within
And heed not how deformed the rest
The least of pride and passion weel,
And then the man is pure indeed *

* Wilson's Hindu Theatre vol 1. p 122. The spirit of the original passage (see Stenzler's text p. 112) is here preserved though considerable freedom has been used in the translation.

The party thus chaunting with Buddhistical propriety who is represented as originally a *Samváhaka*,—a body servant, or gambler, is also set forth as saying when about to leave his original work, “Lady on account of the disgrace of this gambling profession I will become a *Shakya Shramanaka*, * thus intimating the motive, by which according to the Buddhist social reform parties of the lower castes of the Hindus were often influenced in their assumption of Buddhist mendicancy. A similar motive is that by which many parties of the lower castes of the Hindus are influenced when they join the religious orders of the present day.

In the *Kashí Khanda* of the *Skanda Purana*, devoted to the Shaiva form of Hinduism, the following are said to be the Buddhist teachings of *Vishnu*—responding to the call of *Shiva*, to adopt measures for effecting the injury of the righteous reign of king *Divodasa*, whose merit prevented the return of *Shiva* to his own city *Kashí*—

“ This order of things (*samsara*) is eternally manifest (that is has no beginning) (to it) there is neither creator nor creation. It is self existent, and self extinguished. From *Brahmá* to a (vegetable) spike everything is confined in a bodily form. The soul (*A tma*) and God (*Ishvara*) are identical they are not two for *Brahmá*, *Vishnu* and *Indra*, etc. are merely nominal distinctions, as we are denominated *Punyakirti*,† etc. As at our natural time our bodies perish, so (other) bodies, from *Brahmá* to a fly, perish at their natural

* In the *Prákrita* of the play, the original is अज्ञु भास अह एवेण ज्ञादि भलावमाणेण व्रक्षशमणके हुविश्वा being in Sanskrita अज्ञुके अहमेतेन धूतकरा क्षमानेन शाकश्चमणको मविष्यामि See the carefully edited text of Stenzler pp 39 40 195

† The name said to be assumed by *Vishnu* when he set to the propagation of heresy.

time. On a proper view (of matters) there is no superiority of bodies. Eating, copulating, sleeping and fear are common to all. Satisfaction in eating is common to all, without any superiority or inferiority. Thirst is the consequence to all of refraining from drinking. Suppose there are hundreds of horses their use to sit on is the same to all (that is only one at a time is available for sitting on). The pleasure experienced by sleeping on couches is the same as if we were sleeping on the floor. As we ourselves possessed of bodies fear death, so all from Brahmá to an insect fear death alike. If we consider aright, we shall see that all wearing bodies are alike. And having so inquired, it is established that there should be no slaughter of any one (living being) (at any time) or at any place. There is no religion in the world like tenderness to life (*avravaya*) wherefore men ought by all means to practise tenderness to life. He who preserves a single life, is as if he had preserved the three worlds, and he who kills one (life) is as if he had destroyed the three worlds wherefore let there be preserving and not killing. That refraining from killing is the supreme duty (*paramadharma*), is said by the learned (*suras*) of old. Wherefore, whoever has the fear of hell should avoid killing. There is no sin in the three worlds like slaughter. The killer goes to hell, the non-killer goes to heaven (*svarga*). There are other offerings, but their fruits are very small. The offering (*dana*) freeing from fear is manifestly the greatest in the three worlds. There are four gifts enjoined by the great Rishis, on the inspection of the Shástras they are seen to be productive of advantage in the present life and that which is to come.—giving confidence to the terrified, giving medicine to the suffering, giving learning to the ignorant, and giving food to the hungry. (Moreover), the power in gems, mantras, medicines, is to be reckoned extremely great. Wherefore men traffic among them by various expedients, and acquire wealth. Having acquired wealth, continue to worship at the twelve shrines, for without wealth there is no other way of worship. The twelve good (shrines) are the five organs of sensation, the five faculties of sensation, the intellectual faculty (*mana*), and intelligence (*buddhi*). Heaven and hell are in these twelve and nowhere else. Pleasure is said to be heaven, and pain to be hell. If the body die while enjoying pleasure, this is deliverance (*moksha*). This is the excellent deliver-

ance, there is no other deliverance whatsoever. The total destruction of desire and pain is in the highest sense the excellent deliverance (*vijnáno-paramomoksha*) this is to be understood by the perceivers of distinctions. This is the Shruti spoken by the learned in the Védas — There is to be no killing of any living beings, (the sacrificial Rish beginning with) *Agnishoma* begets bewilderment to pure persons, for to intelligent ones there is no authority to its making the destruction of animals. That the cutting of trees the slaughtering of animals, the making the ground red with the burning of oil-giving plants and clarified butter, lead to the attainment of heaven is surprising *

The doctrines propagated by the Buddhists,—those of the eternal existence of the universe, of the negation of a Creator and a creation, of the identity of soul in all existing forms, of the natural course of growth and decay and pleasure and pain, of the universality of the fear of birth and death among sentient beings, of the great virtue of the preservation of life even in its lowest forms, of the evil of animal sacrifice and the destruction of vegetable growth,—are all here plainly set forth. It is only the doctrine of spirit involved in the passage quoted, however, which can be applied to the mitigation of the pride of caste. Very precise on this subject are the teachings in the context put into the mouth of Lakshmi, the spouse of Vishnu, who under the name of *Vijnána Kau-mudi* is thus made to hold forth, after alluding to the propriety of enjoying bodily pleasures, which is no peculiar tenet of the Buddhists — “The thirteen beautiful daughters of Daksha were married to Kushyapa, the son of Marichi (the brother of Daksha). People of small understanding of the present time consider that such a kind of marriage

Kaish Khanda, of the Skanda Purána in 58 80-108 (col. 34 37 of MS. of Dr Bhāskarācārya)

is fit, and yet not fit. The four castes are produced from the mouth, arm, thigh, and foot this was the false imagination of olden times. How can four sons produced from the same body be of separate castes? (High) caste and low caste (*varna avarna*) are not to be thought of. Distinctions among men are not to be taken cognizance of by any one at any time or at any place. *

Only one explanation regarding the Buddhist view of Caste remains to be made. Though it is evident both from the testimony of the Buddhists themselves and of their enemies the Brahmins, that they opposed Caste as far as they were able according to the exigencies of the times in which they lived, they actually, as a matter of policy, often winked at its existence in Indian society. While it was not carried by them into foreign countries, it was tolerated, though dispraised, by them wherever they found they had been preceded by Aryan rule. They invented, too, in connexion with it their own legend. All this is abundantly evident from what we find to be the state of matters in regard to the island of Ceylon. M. Tolstoy, in the Appendix to Lord Valentines Travels, says, "The epoch in which we now are is called (by the Buddhist) the Mahabhadra Kalpa, previous to which a thousand millions of millions of worlds (*sahavals*) have been destroyed. Living creatures were regenerated, however, in the higher regions, and became Brahmans without

* Kashi Khanda, II 58, 109 123 (MS fol 36) The legend of Dividasa and Buddha, as found in this work, is, in substance given by Vans Kennedy in his Researches in Ancient and Hindu Mythology, pp 428 fol. See also Authors First Exposure of Hinduism, p 157 140

any distinction of caste. Some of these Brahmans returned to the world, 'which they formerly inhabited, on their being reproduced, but from avarice degenerated to such a degree that they began to steal. Upon this, quarrels arose among them, and there being no chief to decide these disputes their wise men reflected that the world would not be in a proper state without some kind of government. Upon this they selected from among them a person renowned for wisdom, whom they appointed to be their king, saying to him, 'Thou art our king, we will give to thee one-tenth part of the substance we may acquire, be thou a judge, and a ruler over us.' This king was called Maha Sammata a compound word, which signifies a great assembly [rather one elected by many], to indicate that he had been chosen by the consent of many people. * The statements made by Mr Spence Hardy agree with this condensed view of the Buddhist theory of the origin of the principal Castes. The king, he tells us, was called a Khatiyo or Kshatriya, the Brahmans, who concurred in the suppression of impious proceedings, were called Brahmanas, those who acquired wealth Vessas, or Vaishyas, and those who were addicted to hunting Suddas, or Shudras. † Several lists of Castes or professions are given by Mr Tolfrey. Their denominations are principally derived from the Sanskrit, and are similar to those contained in the Indian lists which we have already inserted. They are said to have been constituted in order to serve the four superior Castes.

* Lord Valentia's Travels, in p. 488 9

† Manual of Buddhism, p. 66

The destruction of Buddhism by Brahmanism under caste influence I shall afterwards have occasion to notice. I conclude this chapter by remarking that the Jamas who are only Buddhist Seceders, take exactly the same view of Caste as their speculative progenitors. Their Yatis or Jatis and other religionists in the West of India, continually assail Caste by such arguments as we find in the Vajra Shuchi of Ashva Ghosha.

VIII —A PEEP AT INDIAN SOCIETY BY THE GREEKS

India is emphatically the land of mystery. It has been a land of mystery from the earliest ages to the present hour. It has been a land of mystery to distant strangers, to friendly and hostile visitors, and even to its own inhabitants. Scarcely any other country of the world is to be compared to it in this respect. Egypt, with its hieroglyphic and hieratic characters and its esoteric doctrines, had its records and gigantic works palpable to all, which declared the grand outlines of its history, even back to the remotest ages. Assyria, Babylon, and Persia, though long obscure to their neighbours, did not conceal their history from their own people, but even stamped much of it on bricks and cylinders, and graved much of it on permanent tablets and on rocks, to be read by all men. The closed land of China, though jealous of foreign intrusion has always patronized an open literature for the benefit of its own sons as well as preserved and published the results of the thought and research of its numerous moralists economists, and recorders. India alone has striven to keep itself in obscurity.

and darkness. It had its poets in the early ages of the world, but they composed, and sang and recited, principally for themselves and the gods of their invention and recognition. It had its priests, more numerous perhaps than those of any other country but they kept their knowledge within their own circle making of it an entire monopoly. It had its thinkers and wise men, but their lips did not disperse knowledge but enjoined the preservation of it as a body of secrets to be communicated only to particular classes of men, and amongst these only to the disciplined and initiated. It had its princes who patronized its bards and eulogists but these princes encouraged these bards and eulogists to deal with flatteries and fables and not with facts and principles. It had its peculiar *itihāsa*, but this, speaking generally, was simply a licensed fiction, a dogmatic assertion that matters (in their incongruities and puerilities beyond the sphere of rational belief) were *said to be so and so*, without reference to their real origin and circumstances. It contented itself with bare genealogical tables which make no distinction between the divine the heroic and the human and into which were thrust apocryphal additions whenever new power or dynasty, however obscure, was anxious to assert and claim the prestige of antiquity. When these tales necessarily referred to later times they were actually set forth as in the Bhagavata, Viśnū, and other *srānas* not as chronicles of the past, but as prophecies of the future. Its own progress and development it neither saw a consequence, observed nor recorded. The only

violent hand of sectarianism, as in the case of Buddhism and other attempts to modify or change its general creed. It even kept aloof, after its early ages from commerce and communion with neighbouring nations, which its own sons were forbidden to visit on pain of religious deprivation.

It is the fact that India has thus not spoken for herself that gives such a great interest to the notices taken of it in connexion with the nations and tribes which by visiting its shores sought to carry its productions to distant lands, and to the observations made on the borders of its territories or within its own boundaries by those who have sought to acquire its sovereignty or to maintain with it a good understanding in connexion with their neighbouring colonies. This interest is now enhanced tenfold, when the vast and non-reviewed literature of India is in all its departments in this critical age, passing into the hands of those who are competent to observe its indications to interpret its spirit and to cast the light which it yields on the path of its past advancement and on the present state of the society, and its physical condition.

From all the people of antiquity brought into contact with India we should expect the most from the Greeks. They had a cultivated intelligence and curiosity and except as modified by an inordinate tribal pride feeling, of catholicity connected with all that could be characterized as an approximation to civilization. It was among them that the historical faculty, properly so called was first developed in extended comprehensiveness and laborious research. History (*Ιστορία*, —learning of

knowing by inquiry, and the knowledge or information so obtained — was their own word and the improvement of the historical faculty was their own glory. They belonged to the same great race from which the dominant Indians the Aryans had sprung. Their forefathers with those of these Aryas, had long been members of the same family and community and had had the same social connexions the same speech, the same gods, and the same religion. The questions at once occur, when we realize their intercommunion in subsequent times,— Did the Greeks recognize their remote but close relationship with the Aryas? did they perceive in India the many elements of their common speech? did they discover the identity or analogous position of the Grecian and Indian gods? did they see how the tribes migrating to the west and those moving to the south or south-east had with marked peculiar diversities of occupation and development, certain things in common? did they note the peculiarities of India and contrast them with those of their own country? These and other similar questions can be answered only by a careful collation of, and attention to the fragments of their accounts of India which remain, and the comparison of them with what we know of India itself and find in its literary remains. By a similar process we answer the inquiries Do the Greek accounts illustrate the Indian literature, and Does the Indian literature illustrate the Greek accounts? Both series of questions will be answered in part at least, as we proceed with this section of our volume.

The first Greek author who mentions India by name I need scarcely mention is Herodotus the father of

profane history* He was born at Halicarnassus in Caria about the year B C 484, and he probably lived to an advanced age He had intimate connexions at various times with Greece and the Greek colonies, and he was a great traveller in Europe, the North of Africa and the West of Asia. He had, for his day, a comprehensive view of the objects of history Herodotus of Halicarnassus,' he says, "publishes his researches in order to prevent the achievements of men from fading in the oblivion of time, and lest the great and admirable exploits both of Greeks and Barbarians should fail of their due renown He also proposes to explain the occasions of the wars which have been carried on between them † The wars before him were specially those of the Greeks and Persians. It is in connexion with these wars that he notices the circumstances of the various peoples which were affected by them The course of his history, which he dedicates to the Muses, properly commences with the time (B C 546) when Cyrus the founder of the Persian empire conquered the Lydian kingdom of Crœsus, and extends to the capture of Sestos (B C 478) when the Greeks triumphed over the Persians. It is in connexion with his enumeration and description of the satrapies of Darius that he notices India, both as included in these satrapies and exterior to them He had not personally visited India, his travels to the East having terminated in Mesopotamia or the Persian provinces contiguous to that country There can be but little doubt that he had

* Perhaps India was included in the Ethiopia of Homer (Od. 23.24)

† Herodotus, Ch. 1

intercourse with parties who had seen India or made it the subject of inquiry with those who had visited its border provinces. The information which he gives respecting it though brief, and not to be received without criticism, is nevertheless of a valuable character.

Of geographical discoveries and acquisition of territory in India by Darius Herodotus thus writes — “The greater part of [the unknown] Asia was explored under the direction of Darius. This king wishing to know on what part of the coast the Indus meets the sea—a river which after the Nile is the only one [then known] that produces crocodiles, sent ships with persons on whose fidelity and truth he could rely, and among these was Scylax of Caryanda. These setting out from Casparyrus, a city of Pactyica descended the river in its course towards the East (?) till they reached the sea.” “After this voyage had been accomplished, Darius subdued the Indians, and frequented that sea (the Indian Ocean).* The origin of this voyage must have been on the Kabul affluent of the Indus—the Kophen or *Kubha*. Pactyica, (the country in which it commenced) is recognizable in the name of a people, with whom we are all familiar, found in that locality to the present day, I mean the *Pathus* or Pathans. Speaking of the twentieth satrapy of Darius established through this conquest, Herodotus further says — “The Indians a people much more numerous than any that is known contributed a sum proportionately larger than that of any other division, for they paid three hundred and sixty talents of gold.”

dust.* We have not to suppose from this notice that the empire of Darius extended over all the country now comprehended under the name of India. It embraced, there is reason to believe only the country contiguous to the banks of the Indus and the territory lying on the Persian side of the Hindu Caucasus. This is evident from what is afterwards added by Herodotus — 'The eastern part of India is a desert of sand and of all the nations known to us or of which we possess any certain information, the Indians are the furthest toward the East, being on that side the first people of Asia for the sands render the country beyond them towards the east uninhabitable.' The great desert here referred to is supposed by Sir Gardner Wilkinson to be that lying to the north of the Himalaya between that range and the Schien Chan Range †. Major Renouf supposes that it may apply to the country between the lower part of the Indus and Rajputana.‡ It is evident that Herodotus had not been exactly informed of the peninsula of India stretching into the Indian ocean though he speaks in the progress of his narrative of a people resembling Lethopians in the tint of their skin, whose country was a long way from Persia (that is the Persian dominions) towards the south.

India is the only satrapy which Herodotus represents as paying its tribute in gold. The sum which he specifies as yielded by it is very large, being four and a half times as much in value as that yielded by the opulent satrapy of Babylonia and Assyria. The region from which the gold was procured is indicated by him, it is

* Herod. in 14

† Ib. in 98

‡ See Kawlinson's Herodotus

§ Renouf's *Geo. of Herod.* p. 102

believed, with accuracy. 'There are other Indians not far distant from the city Caspatyrus, and the region Pactyica. "The mode of life followed by these is similar to that of the Bactrians. They are the most warlike of all the Indians, and it is these who furnish the gold.' * The northern portions of this district embracing the lofty ranges of the Hindu Kush, the Belur-Tagh and Mus-Tagh Altai and other places near the sources of the Oxus and Kabul Indus are said to 'abound with the precious metal. This portion of country is I think referred to in the book of Genesis,—in connexion with the seat of the garden of Eden and the rivers of paradise. A river (or watershed, *panalot*, or water-roll in the Indian languages as I venture to interpret it) went out of Eden, to water the garden (probably an extended district), and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads (for actual drainage). The name of the first is *Fishon* (or the *Shon* or Indus in this quarter *P*: the first syllable of the word, as I have elsewhere conjectured † being the Egyptian definite article, and *Shon* being the Egyptian name of the *Sindhu* or Indus) that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah (the Campilla of the Indians, as thought by Professor Lassen), where there is gold, and the gold of that land is good there is bdolach and the onyx stone. And the name of the second river is *Gihon* (admitted by all geographers to be the Oxus) the same is it that compassed the whole of Cush (translated Ethiopia) ‡ This region, I believe with others, furnished the gold of the

* Herod. iii. 93

† India Three Thousand Years Ago

‡ Gen. ii. 10 12

Solomonic commerce, referred to in the books of Kings and Chronicles, which was exported from ports on the Indus, in the province denominated by Ptolemy *Aburia* and by the *Periplus*, *Saburia* and *Iberia*,—the land of the *Abhuas* the Indian Ophir *

The account given by Herodotus of the method of the acquisition of the gold referred to has afforded much amusement since his day, though it has been substantially repeated by some of his successors

Here in this desert (that is the sandy desert already mentioned) there live amid the sand great ants, in size somewhat less than dogs, but bigger than foxes. The Persian king has a number of them which have been caught by the hunters in the land whereof we are speaking. These ants make their dwellings under ground and like the Greek ants which they very much resemble in shape throw up sand heaps as they burrow. Now the sand which they throw up is full of gold. The Indians, when they go into the desert to collect this sand, take three camels and harness them together a female in the middle and a male on either side in a leading rein. The rider sits on the female and they are particular to choose for the purpose one that has but just dropped her young for the female camels can run as fast as horses, while they bear burdens very much better. When the Indians therefore have thus equipped themselves they set off in quest of the gold calculating the time so that they may be engaged in seizing it during the most sultry part of the day when the ants hide themselves to escape the heat. When the Indians reach the place where the gold is they fill their bags with the sand, and ride away at their best speed. The ants, however scenting them as the Persians say, rush forth in pursuit. Now these animals are so swift they declare, that there is nothing in the world like them, if it were not therefore, that the Indians give a start whilst the ants are mustering, not a single gold

* See Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, II p. 389. Josephus (*Antiq. I. 3. 3*), and many of the Christian Fathers made the Pishon and Ganges

gatherer could escape. During the flight the male camels which are not so fleet as the females grow tired, and begin to drag first one and then the other, but the females recollect the young which they have left behind and never give way or flag. Such according to the Persians is the manner in which the Indians get the greater part of their gold, some is dug out of the earth, but of this the supply is scanty *

In this narrative there are doubtless proofs both of imposition practised upon Herodotus by his informers, and of the simplicity and credulity of the historian. Even in its absurdities, however, heightened though they have been by the fears of the gold-finders lest their occupation should be interfered with by interlopers there is a substratum of truth. The late Professor Horace Hayman Wilson is of opinion that the story may have arisen from the fact that the gold found in the plains of Little Thibet is commonly called Pippalika or "ant" gold, from the belief that the colonies of ants, by their wonted operations are instrumental in bringing the gold to view. A better conjecture, in my opinion, has been made than this. It is that the animal which is said to burrow in the sands is the Pengolin, or ant eater (the *Manis crassicaudata*), called by the natives of the Maráthá Country the Kauvali manjar (or tiled cat). The habits of this animal in burrowing in the sands are well known, and it is abundant in many places of India. It is one of the most remarkable of the Edentata mammals, and as its familiars are not recognized by the natives of India they give very fabulous accounts of its powers and capacities, especially of its alleged ability to kill a man by the sweep of its tail which bears a greater proportion to the

size of its trunk than is found in any other quadruped. In certain of its aspects, as looked at by the rude children of nature it has some resemblance to an ant. It is so curious altogether that it is not unlikely that specimens of it may have been sent to the king of Persia. It is a mistake of our countrymen in India, to say that food cannot be provided for it in a state of captivity. I nourished a specimen of it for a couple of months by giving it milk and eggs, and it died only in consequence of a fall which it had of about twenty feet.

Of the tribes of India, Herodotus remarks that they are "numerous, and that 'they do not all speak the same language.' The Aryan conquerors of India, who spoke the Vedic language (called Sanskrita when afterwards it had the benefit of grammatical culture), were not, as we have seen in former parts of this work, the first immigrants into India. They found that they had been preceded not only by tribes remotely cognate with themselves but by many Scythian, Turanian, and Hamitic tribes, whose languages they but little understood. About the time of Herodotus the Sanskrit was about to cease to be a spoken language. Such of the tribes of India as laid aside their own Turanian dialects, had then formed a great many provincial dialects, in their attempts to make themselves intelligible to the dominant people. This diversity of language was not unknown even in what must have been the Persian India. There are several Indus dialects (as there are great diversities of tribes) on the banks of that river even in the present day. It is an extremely curious fact that the language of the Brahuis, a people there to be found, is cognate not so

much with the languages of Northern as with those of Southern India

Of a certain tribe or class on the banks of the Indus Herodotus says —“ They who dwell in the marshes along the river, live on raw fish which they take in boats made of reeds, each formed out of a single joint These Indians wear a dress of sedge which they cut in the river and bruise , afterwards they weave it into mats, and wear it as we wear a breast plate ” Rude Ichthyophagi of this character have been associated with many countries but partially known Some have supposed that the reed out of which their boats were constructed were bambus , but the fabrication of boats from a single joint of a bambu was impossible

“ Eastward of these Indians our author goes on to say, “ are another tribe called Padœans who are wanderers, and live on raw flesh This tribe is said to have the following customs —If one of their number be ill, man or woman, they take the sick person, and if he be a man, the men of his acquaintance proceed to put him to death, because they say his flesh would be spoilt for them if he pined and wasted away with sickness The man protests he is not ill in the least but his friends will not accept his denial—in spite of all he can say they kill him, and feast themselves on his body So also if a woman be sick, the women who are her friends take her and do with her exactly the same as the men If one of them reaches to old age about which there is seldom any question, as commonly before that time they have had some disease or other, and so have been put to death— but if a man notwithstanding comes to be old, then they

offer him in sacrifice to their gods and afterwards eat his flesh

On the cannibalism here referred to, the following note is given in Rawlinson's lately published translation of Herodotus—a work of great merit and generally edited with critical carefulness and accuracy. The same Custom (of cannibalism) is said to have prevailed among the Massagetae and the Issidomans, and a similar one is mentioned by Strabo as existing among the Cissians and the Deobices. Marco Polo found the practice in Sumatra in his own day. "The people of Dragorin he says ' observe this horrible custom in cases where any member of their family is afflicted with a disease. The relations of the sick person send for the magicians whom they require on examination of the symptoms to declare whether he will recover or not. If the decision be that he cannot, the relations then call in certain men whose peculiar duty it is and who perform their business with dexterity, to close the mouth until he is suffocated. This being done they cut the body in pieces in order to prepare it as victuals and when it has been so dressed the relations assemble and in a convivial manner eat the whole of it not leaving so much as the marrow in the bones. According to some modern writers (Lliphinstone's Cibul vol 1 p 15, 2nd ed.) cannibalism continues in the countries bordering on the Indus to the present day."

To this I would add that the word *Pulæ* in my perhaps have been derived from the Indian *Pahadis* or mountaineers against whom the charge of cannibalism is not yet extinct, even in parts more to the east and south than

vegetarians, scrupulously av~~oid~~
The dying in the wilderness
may have a reference to the
whom we have already notice~~d~~

The informers of Herodotus
certainly not friendly to its inhabi~~tan~~
if they had opportunities of acc~~ess~~
state "All the tribes I have
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The antipodes of the cannibals with Herodotus were the parties who entirely abstained from animal food. "There is another set of Indians, he says whose customs are very different They refuse to put any live animal to death, they sow no corn, and have no dwelling houses Vegetables are their only food There is a plant which grows wild in their country, bearing seed about the size of a millet-seed in a calyx, then wont is to gather this seed and having boiled it, calyx and all, to use it for food If one of them is attacked with sickness he goes forth into the wilderness, and lies down to die, no one has the least concern either for the sick or for the dead Herodotus wrote about the times of the Buddhists but even before that day great tenderness to animal life had been developed in India as a consequence of the doctrine of the metempsychosis, which however is not to be found in the Vedas, which in many places exemplify the use of animal food, even of that of the cow afterwards so sacred throughout the country The first limitation as to animal food with which I am acquainted is in by far the most modern of the Vedas, the Atharvana. It occurs in a command (already referred to) not to kill the 'medible cows of the Brahmins, and seems to have in view only the preservation of their pets * The avoidance of the use of the cereals by the vegetarians hunted at by Herodotus is explained partly by the injunctions in Manu against the destruction of seeds the germs of life as exemplified in the complaints made against

vegetarians, scrupulously avoiding corn, does not appear. The dying in the wilderness without the care of friends may have a reference to the case of the *Vanaprasthas*, whom we have already noticed in this work.

The informers of Herodotus respecting India were certainly not friendly to its diversified tribes and tongues, if they had opportunities of actually observing their social state. "All the tribes I have mentioned," he says, "live together like the brute beasts." They were mistaken, too, when they said that all the tribes of India "had the same tint of skin, which approaches that of the Ethiopians." This language requires to be very considerably qualified even when it is applied to the more southern tribes, which Herodotus must have heard of in the general, for he adds: "This country is a long way from Persia towards the south, nor had king Darius ever any authority over them."

We have thus exhausted the general, and somewhat meagre, notices of India found in Herodotus. Nothing more of this country worthy of attention was learned by the Greeks till about one hundred and fifty years after Herodotus, when Alexander the Great, in his attempt to subdue the Persian empire to the dominion of Macedon, reached its northern borders. A great flood of light was doubtless then thrown on India, revealing its peculiarities to intelligent inquirers, but it has been only dimly reflected to us in the present day. The body of information obtained respecting it was soon lost for historical purposes. The letters of Alexander himself, sent from its borders, which are sometimes referred to by Pliny and Plutarch, have long ago disappeared, while those bearing his name, addressed to his tutor Aristotle,

bear evident marks of forgery. The writings of Callisthenes, who was taken to the East by Alexander to write his history, have also perished. We know of Clitarchus another of Alexander's followers, only from a few references made to him by Plutarch and others. Orthagoras, who is said to have written nine books about Indian affairs, is not even quoted by Alexander's historians. Nearchus the admiral of Alexander's fleet, wrote a history of his own movements, but we have not his work to compare it with the charges made against it by Strabo in his Geography, and by Arrian in his Expedition of Alexander. Arrian himself—who was a disciple of Epictetus and flourished in the reign of the Emperor Adrian,—is our chief authority respecting the observations and deeds of Alexander and his army in India, though interesting gleanings are to be got from Strabo, Pliny, Diodorus Siculus and others.

Alexander's march from Bactria to the Indus, as described by Arrian,* is interesting principally in a geographical point of view. Attempts have been made, with considerable success to reduce the names of places and persons found in it from their Greek to their Indian forms. The result warrants the application to the Greek visitors of India of the remark made by professor H. H. Wilson on our first English surveyors and geographers in India —“It may be doubted if any of them have been conversant with the spoken language of the country they have consequently put down names at random, according to their own inaccurate appreciation of sounds carelessly, vulgarly, and corruptly uttered.” For

* Arriani Expeditionis libro quarto et seq.

† Vishnu Purana pp 178 9

example, the Greek *Kóphén* (a river) is the *Kubhá*, the *Choe* is the *Khonar*, and the *Goraia* or *Gorceas* is the *Gáuri*. The *Aspasii* are probably connected with *Ashvaka*, *Massiga* is *Mashaká*, and *Peucolastis* is *Pushkalavati**. It is interesting to notice that Alexander's experience of the courage of the mountaineers must have been somewhat similar to our own. "The Indians of that province," it is said, "far excelled all the other Indians in military exploits," and, after a trial of their mettle, he was glad to engage them as mercenaries, though he soon found, "that they would not fight against other Indians." The cattle of the district attracted his particular attention. "Alexander chose the best and largest (of them), that he might send them into Macedonia for a breed, for they far excelled the Grecian cattle both in bulk and beauty."† "The existence of the vine and ivy in the country and probably the worship of Shiva, the God "of increase," were viewed by the hero and his companions as an indication that it had been visited by Dionysus (or Bacchus). The Greeks were perhaps confirmed in their conjectures about this matter by the Indians, in whose genealogical tables a *Dévanahusha*, a divine personage of the Lunar race makes an early appearance. The Indians begged for the saving of their city *Nysa*, alleging

* To no person are we more indebted for a scientific identification of many of the geographical names connected with the Indian movements of Alexander than to Professor Lassen. See *Indische Alterthumskunde*, II. p. 116 et seq.

† Perhaps the bulk and beauty of some of the breeds of Indian cattle (with their prominently developed dewlaps and humps, which appear represented on the oldest coins,) as well as their utility, may have contributed to their deification by the Bráhmans.

that it had been built by *Dyonyssus*, and they got off from a demand for one hundred of their magistrates (their principal *Shéts*) for three hundred horses, and Alexander's deference to Bacchus, whom it was his desire to excel in the extent of his conquests. Arrian well understood the pretences which were made on both sides in this case, for he says, that "The things which the ancients have published in their fables concerning the Gods, ought not to be too narrowly searched into, for whenever the truth of any story seemed to be liable to be called in question, some God was immediately summoned to their aid, and then all was plain and immediately swallowed. Mount Méru, even, was summoned to give testimony for Bacchus, its name sounding like that of the Greek word *Mήρος* (the upper part of the thigh), which fitted in with the western legend that Bacchus had been shut up in the thigh of Jupiter. Connected with the remarkable rock *Aornos*, Alexander began to hear of the alleged exploits of a God (Krishna, as we shall afterwards see), whom they identified with their own Hercules. He enjoyed in the contiguous mountains and forests an elephant hunt, a fact which shows the wide dispersion of that gigantic pachyderm in his day.

On arriving at the Indus, probably at Aṭak, Alexander received presents of submission from Taxiles, an Indian prince, so called from an Indian town, *Taksha shilā*, to which he belonged. This prince he did not deprive of his territories when he reached his capital. On the contrary, he enlarged them, though he made Philip, the son of Machetas, governor of the province in his own name. Alexander's passage of the *Hydasper*

the *Vitasti* of the Indians, was opposed by the patriotic and valiant *Porus*, (or *Puras*,) who probably derived his name from *Pura* a city in general, but given to a capital and its lord in this district by way of distinction according to a usage prevailing to the present day. This was at the summer solstice when the river was at its height, and its passage was effected with great difficulty. Much fighting followed, which issued in the defeat of Porus the death of his two sons and of the governor of the province, and the infliction of wounds on his own person. When Porus came to Alexander to express his submission both his bearing and appearance made a deep impression on the Macedonian conqueror. He was doubtless an excellent representative of the ancient Indian Kshatriyas or Rulers.

The next river passed by Alexander was that of the *Acesines*, the *Asuṇī* of the Hindus. In advance he came to the *Hydrootes* or *Rāri*. Here he heard of a confederation formed against him by certain free Indians and *Cathaei* perhaps a Scythian tribe the progenitors of the *Kāthīs* of *Kāthiawār*, by the *Oxydracæ* and *Malli*, the inhabitants of *Mulasthana*, or *Multan* of later times. *Sangala*, or *Shakala* near Amritasar, lay on his way to the south-east. He was fired with ambition to extend his conquests beyond the *Hyphasis* or *Vipāsha* of the Indians, but the spirits of his men with the monsoon storms raging around them and powerful enemies before them failing them, he was obliged to terminate his onward march and to return to the *Hydaspes*. By land, and by the river, his forces were conveyed to the junction of the *Hydaspes* and *Acesines*, and afterwards to

that of the Acesines and Indus An encounter with the Malli and the taking of Multan, which nearly cost Alexander his life were the incidents of this part of his journey The identification of various places and persons visited, or negotiated with, by his army on the Indus is not a matter of difficulty The *Orydracæ* were the people of *Uch* to be distinguished from the *Hydriacæ* the originals of the *Shudras*, in the neighbouring district and the *Abastani*, probably *Ambashthas*, whose name appears in various parts of India. The *Xathri*, said to be a free people of India, were doubtless a tribe under the government of the *Kshatriyas* The *Assadu* were the *Vasati* The land of *Musicanus* was near the present *Ladakhā* *Sindomana* the *Sinharan* of the Brahmans, was the present *Sehwan* between Upper and Lower Sindh *Pattala* at the head of the Delta of the Indus, was the *Patalipuri* of the Brahmans and must have been near Haidarabad, and not at *Thatha* as supposed by Principal Robertson * It is not an object with us at present to notice the perilous journey of Alexander's army through the country of the Gadrosi and other tribes and through Persia to the banks of the Euphrates As connected with India however we may notice the fact that some of its sages adhered to him during this journey even eating at his table as *Calanus*,—doubtless an Indian *Kalyanah* —who committed voluntary suicide (or Kamyamarana forbidden to Brahmans by Manu) † on the

* See Author's Journal of a Missionary Tour in Sindh, in the O C S 1850 p 397

† See before p 25 Calanus was probably a *Bhāṭṭa* or *Chāraṇa* a eulogist attendant upon kings, like individuals of these classes *Mandanis* (See *Mandana* as in the name of the author of the *Amara Kosha*) was his companion

funeral pile, with the ultimate assent and co-operation of Alexander himself who reckoned his death the crowning act of his strange philosophy

The information respecting India acquired by the Alexanderine invasion, now briefly referred to, was doubtless very considerable in amount, and interesting in character. It was surpassed, however, in precision and importance by that acquired by Megasthenes, to the fragments of whose writings, as quoted by Strabo, Arrian, and others, we now turn our attention *

The original position of Megasthenes with regard to India has often of late been overlooked. According to his own statement, found in Arrian † he was an attaché to Syburtius governor of the *Arachosia* who inhabited the *Harapaiti* of the Persians (the equivalent of the Sanskrit *Sarasvati*) in eastern Iran ‡. While associated with Syburtius he frequently visited *Sandracottus* (or *Sandracyptus*) king of India. Sandracyptus, as conjectured by Sir William Jones was the *Chundragupta* of the Hindus the grandfather of the Emperor Ashoka, the great patron of the Buddhists. It was under Seleucus, the successor of Alexander, who had made a treaty with him about portions of territory west of the Indus that Megasthenes visited his court at his capital *Palibothra*, or *Pataliputra*, at the confluence of the *Eranoboa* (or *Shona*) and Ganges, near the modern *Patna*, and which he assures us was eighty furlongs in length and fifteen in breadth, with a ditch thirty cubits deep, and a wall with five hundred and seventy

* These have been collected (but not translated) by Dr Schwanbeck in his *Megasthenis Indica Bonna*, 1840.

† Arrian lib v cap 6

‡ See before 1 51

towers and sixty-four gates * The discovery of a real Indian *datum*, well called by Dr Max Muller 'the sheet anchor of Indian chronology,' (the only date which promises in any good degree an adjustment of any portion of our Indian genealogies), is the consequence of this recognition Justin † tells us that Sandracottus had seized the throne of India (from the last of the Nandas, it appears from the Indian account) after the prefects of Alexander had been murdered (317 B C) Seleucus found him sovereign of India when, after the taking of Babylon and the conquest of Bactria, he passed on to India, to make secure arrangements with its emperor It was then he concluded the treaty with him, which must have been before the year 312, for after his return to Babylon, he founded the era which bears his own name, the Seleucidan era It is concluded from this that Chandragupta became king about B C 315 It must have been about the year 312 that Megasthenes first visited his court ‡ It is on the people of India that the information which he communicates to us principally turns

Megasthenes, as is well known, divides the population of India into seven principal divisions or classes (*εἴρη* a word which does not necessarily mean Castes) These are those of the Philosophers the Agriculturists the Shepherds and Hunters, the Artizans, Hucks'ers and Bodily Labourers, the Warriors, the Inspectors, and the Counsellors and Assessors of the king Those who have

* For the identification of Palibothra and Pataliputra, we are indebted to Major Rennell. Robertson's dissent from Rennell (Note xiv to Disquisition) is groundless.

† Justin xv 4

‡ See Max Muller's Hist. of Sans. Lit.

viewed these divisions as indicating Castes, looked to either from a Brahmanical or a Buddhist point of view, have been much puzzled with this classification, for it is really not reconcilable with any specific classification of Castes noticed anywhere in the Indian literature. The classification it appears to me, is either that of Megasthenes himself, or of the political authorities of Palibothra with whom he came in contact. After referring to the Philosophers, as in a position entirely peculiar, it rises from the Husbandman,—whom he views with much regard,—to the Royal Counselors next in authority to the king himself. Notwithstanding this peculiarity of the classification of Megasthenes, the information which his notices of the classes embraced by him afford is of great value, and throws considerable light even on the Caste system prevalent in his day. It is deserving of attention in all its details.

1 Of the *Philosophers* Megasthenes thus writes (I quote from him as cited by Strabo* who is more copious in his quotations than Arrian) —

“ Among the classes the first in honour, though in number the smallest, are the philosophers. People who offer sacrifice or perform any sacred rite have the services of those persons on their private account but the kings employ them in a public capacity at the time of what is called the Great Synod where at the time of the new year all the philosophers repair to the king at the gate and any useful thing which they have committed to writing or observed, tending to improve the production of fruits or of animals or of advantage to the order of the state, is then

* Strab. Cœo. lib. xv 1 et seq.

publicly set forth. And whoever has been detected in thrice giving false information is enjoined silence by law for the rest of his life, but he who has made correct observations is for the rest of his life exempted from cess and tribute * The employment of the philosophers for sacrifice and domestic religious rites has a plain reference to the Brâhmins and the rites which they were accustomed to celebrate, while the congregating of wise men in annual assemblies seems to point to arrangements of a Buddhist character. The observational powers of the Buddhist mendicants, accustomed to visit towns and villages and to travel through the country, would doubtless be greatly developed and improved by the enlargement of their experience, while the state would profit by their annual reports of discovery. The arrangements thus acted on, however humble in character, were somewhat similar in principle to those of the British Association in our own day, when there are exchanges of congratulation in the brotherhood of science, and when the public tenders its approbation to those who in science and practical art have successfully laboured for the public good. It is curious to observe the discipline of the Indian assemblies, embracing both punishments and rewards. Silence for life for false reporters and incorrect observers three times erring (though it may have been limited to a deprivation merely of the right of public speech) was a heavy punishment while exemption from tax and tribute was a great boon bestowed on the lovers of truth and accuracy. This exemption was a great improvement of the laws, afterwards embodied in the code of Manu, exempting Brâhmins from all taxation †

* Strab. Geo lib xv 1

† See before, p. 39

Megasthenes, I may here mention, in connexion with the Philosophers, refers to those of the mountains (probably worshippers of the mountain god Shiva,) as in favour of the alleged visit of Bacchus to India * He recognizes the inhabitants of the plains, however, as addicted to the worship of Hercules This so-called "Hercules" was undoubtedly the Indian Krishna, whose fabulous achievements, so much resembling those of Hercules, were about this time brought to notice, while his worship was only locally prevalent "Hercules," writes Arrian on the authority of Megasthenes, "the Indians tell us was a native of their country He is particularly worshipped by the *Suraseni* [the *Shurasenās* of the Hindu literature] who have two great cities belonging to them *Methoras* [which we cannot fail to identify as *Mathurā*, a favourite residence of Krishna] and *Khsoboras*,' [probably a corruption of the name *Krishnapura*] The district referred to is evidently that of the legends of the Hindus at the time of Megasthenes respecting Krishna a modern god whose name is not once mentioned in the ancient *Vedas* Megasthenes adds respecting Hercules, evidently having Krishna in his eye, that 'he took many wives, and begot a great number of sons, though but one daughter whom he named *Pandaea* † a name in which we find an indistinct trace of the Pandava dynasty of the *Mahabharata* Krishna was only a deified king, whose name appears at the close of the *Yadu* branch of the Lunar race

In treating of the Philosophers, Megasthenes recognizes both the *Brahmans* and the Buddhist *Shramanas* † Megasthenes, says Strabo divides the philosophers into two

* Strab. Geo. xv 1 58

† Arr. Hist. In cap. viii

† See before, p. 293

kinds the *Brachmanes* and the *Garmanes**. The Brachmanes are held in greater repute, for they agree more exactly in their opinions. Even from the time of their conception in the womb they are under the care and guardianship of learned men who go to the mother, and seem to perform some incantation for the happiness and welfare of the mother and the unborn child, but in reality they suggest prudent advice, and the mothers who listen to them most willingly are thought to be the most fortunate in their offspring. After the birth of the children, there is a succession of persons who have the care of them, and as they advance in years masters more able and accomplished succeed. † The Brahmanas he here sets forth as of greater repute than the Shramanakas. He represents them as objects of care from their very conception, having probably received some indistinct account of the antenatal *Sanskāras*, or sacraments of the Hindus. He seems to have been aware of the formalities of their tutelage under a succession of teachers, according to the Hindu institutes. The self-denial of these philosophers he distinctly notices. 'The philosophers' he says "pass their time in a grove of moderate area, living upon straw pallets and on skins, abstaining from animal food, and from sexual intercourse with women, engaging themselves in grave discourses, and communicating with those inclined to listen to them. But the hearer is not permitted to speak or to cough or even to spit on the ground otherwise he is expelled that very day from their society as having no control over himself. After living thirty seven years in this manner, each retires

* *Sarmanas*, Clem Alex Strom 1 305

† Strab Geog hb. xv 1 59 Falconer's Translation, iii p 109

to his own property, and lives with less restraint, wearing robes of fine linen, and rings of gold, but without profusion on the hands and ears. They eat the flesh of animals, but not that of those which assist man in his labour, and abstain from pungent and seasoned food. They practise polygamy for the sake of abundant offspring. If they have no servants, they supply their place by their own children, for the more nearly any person is related to another, the more is he bound to attend to his wants. Megasthenes seems to have had in view in this section principally the third and fourth ashramas of the Brahmans (of which the fourth is the milder) though he concludes it by a reference to the second that of the Householder.* The Brahmans, he goes on to say (in conformity with what we find in the Hindu literature) do not suffer their wives to attend their philosophical discourses. The reasons alleged by him for this reserve are the danger of the divulgence of secrets, the assertion of independence by instructed females, and their desertion of their husbands—reasons which, with some, are alleged to the present day against female instruction.

Of the doctrine of a future state as taught by the Brahmans Megasthenes had but partial notions. They discourse, he says, "much on death, for it is their opinion that the present life is the state of one conceived in the womb, and that death to philosophers is but to a real and happy life. He was better informed about the non-recognition by them, under certain courses of teaching, of the absence of good and evil in the accidents of life. He rightly speaks of many of their notions of natural phenomena being founded merely on fables. He notices the

* See before, pp 28-35

opinion of the Brahmans that the earth is spherical, from which it would appear that something had been said to him of the *Brahmānda*, or egg of Brahma, and that there is a fifth element doubtless the *akásha* of the Indian sages. The 'most honourable of the *Garmanes*,—whom in the gross we recognize as principally the Buddhist *Shramanas*,—he declares to be the *Hylobu*. The word *Vánaprastháh* (dwellers in the forest) is the literal rendering of *Hylobu* and the technical designation of the parties in the fourth Ashrama of the Brahmans, and these he may have erroneously classed with the Buddhist *Shramanas*, more particularly as they had not a monopoly of this name, though it was applied to them by way of distinction.

Of the Physicians Megasthenes thus writes — 'Second in honour to the *Hylobu* are the Physicians, for they apply philosophy to the study of the nature of man. They are of frugal habits but do not live in the fields, and subsist upon rice and meal which every one gives when asked, and receives them hospitably. They are able to cause persons to have a numerous offspring and to have either male or female children, by means of charms. They cure diseases by diet rather than by medicinal remedies. Among the latter the most in repute are unguents and cataplasms. All others they suppose partake greatly of a noxious nature. Both this and the other class of persons [the Brahmanical devotees?] practise fortitude as well in supporting active toil as in enduring suffering so that they will continue a whole day in the same posture, without motion. They are enchanters and diviners, versed in the rites and customs relative to the dead, who go about villages and towns begging. There are others who are

more civilized and better informed than these who inculcate the vulgar opinions concerning Hades, which according to their idea tend to piety and sanctity. Women study philosophy with some of them abstaining at the same time from sensual connexions." This, certainly, mainly applies to the Buddhist devotees among whom were females as well as males.*

Megasthenes further correctly mentions that self-destruction is not a dogma of the philosophers (applicable to themselves), and that those who committed the act were reckoned fool-hardy.

2 Respecting the *Husbandmen*, Megasthenes says, "The second class is that of the Husbandmen, who are the most numerous and mildest as they are exempted from military service and cultivate their land free from alarm. They do not resort to cities, either to transact public business, or take part in public tumults. It therefore frequently happens that at the same time, and in the same part of the country, one body of men are in battle array, and engaged in contests with the enemy, while others are ploughing or digging in security, leaving the soldiers to protect them. The whole of the territory belongs to the king. They cultivate it on the terms of receiving as wages, the fourth part of the produce. This deference to agricultural pursuits by the Indians in times of war has more or less continued to the present time. As the cultivation of the land is here mentioned as a distinct employment and separated

* Clitarchus had probably Buddhists in view when he represents them under the name of *Pramnoe* as opposed to the *Brachmanes*. Strab. Geo. xv 1 70

from the rearing of cattle, and the practice of merchandise associated in the law-books with the caste privileges of the *Vaishya* it is perhaps not erroneous to infer that the term *Vaishya* was applied to parties separately following either of these occupations.

3 Respecting the *Pastors and Hunters*, our informant writes —“The third class is that of the Pastors and Hunters, who alone are permitted to hunt, to breed cattle, to sell and to let out for hire beasts of burden. In return from freeing the country from wild beasts and birds, which infest sown fields, they receive an allowance of corn from the king. They lead a wandering life and dwell in tents. No private person is allowed to keep a horse or an elephant. The possession of either one or the other is a royal privilege, and persons are appointed to take care of them”* The distinction of cowherds shepherds and hunters, from other portions of the Indian population, continues to the present day.

4 Of the *Artizans, Hucksters, and Labourers*, Megasthenes thus writes —“After the Hunters and the Shepherds, follows the fourth class, which consists of the Artizans, Hucksters, and Labourers. Some of these pay taxes and perform certain stated services. But the Armour makers and Ship builders receive wages from the king, for whom only they work. The general-in-chief furnishes the soldiers with arms, and the admiral lets out ships for hire to those who undertake voyages and traffic as merchants.

* This is followed by an account of the taking the elephant partly correct and partly inaccurate. Our author also repeats the story of the ants and the gold finding, much in the form of Herodotus.

5 Of the *Military*, he says —“ The fifth class consists of fighting men who pass the time not employed in the field in idleness and drinking and are maintained at the charge of the king. They are ready whenever they are wanted to march on an expedition, for they bring nothing of their own with them except their bodies’ These troops it is interesting to notice, were embodied as a standing army. It is not apparent that in caste they were necessarily *Kshatriyas*. They seem not to have been much troubled with what the Romans reckoned “ *impedimenta viæ* ”

6 Of the *Inspectors*, he says —“ The sixth class is that of the Ephori or Inspectors. They are intrusted with the superintendence of all that is going on, and it is their duty to report privately to the king. The city inspectors employ as their coadjutors the city courtesans, and the inspectors of the camp the women who follow it. The best and the most faithful persons are appointed to the office of inspector. All this may be correct. It is part of the duty of a king, as laid down in the Law books, to deal with spies and emissaries after sunset.* Glimpses of Inspectors may be got even in the older literature of the Indians †

7 Of the *Counsellors and Assessors of the king*, he says —“ To these persons belong the offices of state, the tribunals of justice, and the whole administration of affairs’ This is pretty much in accordance with what Manu tells us of the royal counsellors. In connexion with this part of

* See before, p 41

† See some corresponding designations in the *Parusha Médha*, ut supra, pp 127 132

his subject, Megasthenes brings to notice two of the actual principles of caste — 'It is not permitted to contract marriage with a person of another caste' nor to change from one profession or trade to another nor for the same person to undertake more than one, except he is of the caste of philosophers, when permission is given on account of his dignity

Returning to the ruling class, Megasthenes says — "Of the Magistrates (*Archons*) some have the charge of the market, others of the city, others of the soldiery. Some have the care of the rivers, measure the land as in Egypt, and inspect the closed reservoirs from which water is distributed by canals, so that all may have an equal use of it. These persons have the charge also of the hunters, and have the power of rewarding or punishing those who merit either. They collect the taxes and superintend the occupations connected with land as woodcutters carpenters workers in brass, and miners. They superintend the public roads and place a pillar at every ten stadia to indicate the bye-ways and distances. In all this there is pleasing testimony to advancement in economic civilization.

The most curious arrangements noticed by Megasthenes in this connexion, respect the governors of cities. He tells us they are divided into six Pentads (*panchakas*). Committees of five with very special duties attached to each pentad. The first pentad superintended the fabricative operations, being a sort of Committee of Public Works. The second had charge of the relief of strangers the burial of the friendless dead, and the care of their

* Γένος, the word which at p 13 of this work is used as the Greek equivalent of *jatis*. The word above translated 'class' is μέρος

property. The third took cognizance of births and deaths, with a view to revenue purposes which may explain the aversion of the natives of India to statistical inquiries. The fourth discharged the duties of the Bazar masters, attending to weights and measures and doubling the tax when the shopkeeper dealt in a variety of articles. The fifth took cognizance of manufactured articles and their sale, distinguishing old articles from new ones. The sixth collected the tenth of the price of the articles sold, inflicting death on parties guilty of fraud in this matter. This division of labour did not supersede the common consultation and responsibility of the general body of the pentads.

An equally minute division of labour was apparent in connexion with the management of military affairs, connected with which there were also six Pentads. The first of these acted under the naval superintendent, and its members were consequently miniature Lords of the Admiralty. The second managed the Commissariate and Transit Department, under a president, having charge of the bullock-trains for the military engines, baggage, instruments of music, grooms, mechanists, and foragers, whom they rewarded or punished according to their deserts. The third had charge of the infantry, the fourth, of the horses, the fifth, of the chariots, the sixth, of the elephants. In connexion with the notice of these arrangements, Megasthenes makes the following precise statements — “There are royal stables for the horses and elephants. There is also a royal magazine of arms for the soldier returns his arms to the armoury, and the horse and elephant to the stables. They use the elephants

without bridles. The chariots are drawn on the march by oxen. The horses are led by a halter in order that their legs may not be chafed and inflamed, nor their spirit damped by drawing chariots. Besides the charioteer, there are two persons who fight by his side in the chariot. With the elephant are four persons the driver and three bowmen who discharge arrows from his back.

These details all bear witness to what we have often noticed, the division of labour among the ancient Indians, and show the existence in the time of Megasthenes of parties with designations similar to those contained in the lists already introduced into this work.

Several miscellaneous notices of the Indian people, bearing on the social state of the Indians are introduced by Strabo and Arrian on the authority of Megasthenes in a somewhat digressive form. The whole country of India was divided, it is said into a hundred and twenty two nations, an estimate probably not below the truth. The people were frugal in their mode of life, using no wine except in sacrifices (the reference is probably to the Soma) and their food being principally of rice. They were fond of ablutions and unctions, of the frictional rubbing of the body and of ornaments of the precious stones and metals. They were remarkable for their regard for truth their polygamous alliances effected through purchase and favour, the tolerance of professional whoredom, their early marriages in the case of girls, who might be espoused when seven years old, their sacrificing with their heads uncovered their killing animals by suffocation in order to avoid bloodshed, their punishing crimes by maiming (as enjoined in the

Law-books) their care of the persons of the kings by slave girls their demands on kings for labour and recreation during the day , and other customs known to be consistent with Indian history They are spoken of as ignorant of letters or writing , and as conducting public business memoriter, without an accessible body of law and without the use of seals This may have been really the case with the body of the Indians in the time of Megasthenes for the oldest known form of the Indian alphabets bears evidence of a Grecian and Phenician origin, and was not unlikely devised after the invasion of Alexander the Great *

Megasthenes is accused of deviating into fables when he speaks of Indian dwarfish races of five or three spans in height, and without nostrils, but with breathing orifices about the mouth of Enocoitœ, who slept on their ears which hung down to their feet , of tribes with heels in front, and instep and toes turned back , of Ocypadœ, so swift of foot that they left horses behind them , of Monomati, who had only one eye placed in the middle of the forehead, with hair erect and shaggy breasts , of Amycteres, without nostrils with the upper part of the lips projecting and of various other curious and hideous monsters The absurdity of his narrative in regard to the e matters needs no exposure but it is interesting

* Clitarchus, as well as Megasthenes testified to the Indian ignorance of writing On the probable non use of literal writing among the ancient Indians, see notice by the author in India Three Thousand Years Ago pp 34-36 and in re part cular y Max Miller's Hist of Sans L t pp 500 & 24 compared w t Go dsteckers Intro

to know that the more uncivilized tribes of India are characterized in this strange manner even in the classical Hindu literature. Professor H. H. Wilson, when quoting from the *Mahabharata* the *dig vijaya* of the Bhishma Parva, inserts the following note on the mention of the people called *Naikaprishthas* (having more than-one-back) "probably some nickname or term of derision —" "Thus we have in the *Ramayana* and other works, enumerated amongst tribes, the *Karnapravaranas* those who wrap themselves up in their ears, *Ashtha karnakas* the eight eared, or *Oshtha karnakas* having lips extending to their ears *Kakamukhas* crow faced, *E kapadukas*, one footed, or rather one slippared exaggerations of national ugliness, or allusions to peculiar customs which were not literally intended, although they may have furnished the *Mandevilles* of ancient and modern times with some of their monsters" * Even in the *Vedas*, human monsters are alleged to exist.†

An interesting portion of the fragments of Megasthenes is that which refers to the Indian genealogies. It is difficult to identify the few Indian names which he indicates. Yet with Lassen and others, all Indian scholars must see *Svayambhuva* (the self-existent) in his *Spar tembas*, *Buddha*, in his *Budyas*, *Pururavas*, in his *Prareuas* supposed to have been written for *Kradeuas*—the present reading. His names with the exception perhaps of the last, are those of divinities heading the

* Wilson's *Vishnu Purana*, p. 187. See also on the names of the Indian monstrous people Schwanbeck's *Megasthenis Indica*, pp. 64, et seq.

† See before, p. 96

genealogies, partly of the Solar and partly of the Lunar Dynasties, confounded by him together Megasthenes says that the Indians reckon from Bacchus (whom they made the contemporary of Spartembas) one hundred and fifty-three kings reigning during the space of six thousand and forty two years The statement agrees with none of the genealogical lists possessed by the Hindus, even when they are viewed as including their fabulous personages The only safe conclusion is, that genealogical lists were actually recited by the natives at the time of his visit to India We get no chronological help from him, except in the mention of the name of Sandracottus (Chandragupta), which affords us the valuable historical datum already alluded to

We have before noticed the fact that at the Greeks confounded Shiva and Krishna with Bacchus and Hercules in the concept and legends of whom there is certainly some analogy They were nearer the truth, when, as Strabo says they related that the Indians worshipped Jupiter Ombrinus the river Ganges and the indigenous deities of the country¹ In Jupiter Ombrinus we doubt less find the Indian Indra by whose influence it was supposed the clouds shed down their watery treasures Indra was worshipped of old by all classes of the Indians though he was reckoned the special deity of the Kshatriyas

It must be apparent from the notices now given that though the Greek accounts of India are, from the form in which they have reached us, not all that could be desired,

* Strab Geog xv 1 69 I have throughout this chapter referred to M as quoted in this chapter of Strabo and in A 5

they are really of a valuable and interesting character from the light which they cast on the social state of the Indians at the times of which they treat. They afford no proof, however that the Greeks recognized their relationship to the ruling tribes of India or discovered the fact that the Greek and Sanskrit are cognate languages. They became known to the Indians under the name of *Yavanas* (Ιωνες), by which the Greco-Bactrians were afterwards distinguished. By the Greco-Bactrian, Greco-Indian Indo Scythian and Parthian Kings, whose coins have of late years been brought to light and whose dominions extended to the northern provinces of India, important local modifications were doubtless made in Indian caste and customs, but of these no historical notices are to be found. India became greatly indebted to Bactrian art the indications of which are not wanting in the Buddhist remains of Western India and this obligation would not be unnoticed by the hereditary limners, painters, sculptors and architects of India, and by those who, under the Buddhist relaxation of Caste, felt at liberty to adopt occupations suited to their own genius and inclinations.

It may be here mentioned though by anticipation, that our obligations to Claudius Ptolemy of Alexandria (of the second century after Christ) for the identification and localization of many of the peoples and tribes of India are great indeed. A few of these identifications and localizations have been already incidentally referred to in the preceding pages*. Others of them will be noticed when I review the Hindu Castes as they at present exist.

* See before, pp. 55, 57 111, 155, 170 227

IX.—CASTE IN THE LAW-BOOKS AND LATER INDIAN LITERATURE

Born the *Smáriti* Sutras (or Sutras founded on the *Smriti* or "what is remembered") and the *Smritis* themselves having the same origin, form what are called the Hindu *Dharmashastras** or Law-Books. They do not claim an origin similar to that of the *Vedas* or even that of the *Brahmanas*, *Araṇyakas*, *Upaniṣads*, and *Shranta Sútras*, associated with the *Védas*, to which we have already appealed. Yet their authority is scarcely of a secondary character. They are practically all-prevalent in the Indian community. The more ancient of them contain the record of the laws and customs held to have been long current in the Indian community, and learned either by simple tradition, or from interpretations made of *Védic* works, by supposed *Rishis* in whose behalf it is asserted that they were perfect from their birth, and possessed of divine vision. It is generally maintained by the Hindus that *Védic* authority is wanting to them in any respect, only because portions of the *Vedic* works, (*Brahmanas* and *Sutras*) on which they were originally founded, have altogether perished. They are written in *shlokas* a peculiar versification, or "measured prose" as it is denominated by Sir William Jones, but are not poetical in the proper sense of the term. More comments have been written upon them and digests made of them, than in the case of any other Indian writings. The personal, and social, and civil, and religious

* From *Dharma* law and *shastra*, institute

affairs of the Hindus have been conducted according to them for many generations. They are held to be superior in authority both to the two works of *Itihasa* (the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*) and to the Eighteen Puranas.

The Hindus of Western India speak of Eighteen *Smritis* and Eighteen *Upasmritis*. The classifications of them under these heads, however, do not agree. The following is an alphabetical list of the best-known *Smritis* without reference to this distinction —

1 *Atri*, of 115 Shlokas, treating of *Dána* (largesses to Brahmins) and Penances

2 *Angiras* of 165 Shlokas, treating of ceremonial Defilement and Penances

3 *Apastamba* of 200 Shlokas. This work is very similar to that of *Angiras*

4. *Ashravayana*, of about 1000 Shlokas, treating of the Daily Ceremonies of the Brahmins, the Sixteen Sanskaras, the Shraddhas, the Daily Homa the general Duties of the Castes (treated of as in other parts of this work) and the Death Ceremonies.

5 *Baudhayan*, of 1100 Shlokas, treating of Purity and Impurity and Atonements

6 *Bharadvaya* This work is now very rare

7 *Brihaspati*, of 50 Shlokas treating of *Dána*

8 *Budha*, of 22 Shlokas, treating of the Sanskaras and the Duties of the four Principal Castes.

9 *Dalsha* of 150 Shlokas, treating of the four Brahmanical Ashramas and of Daily Ceremonies and Duties.

10 *Dévala*, of 90 Shlokas, treating of the four Principal Castes their Daily Duties, Defilement, Purification, and Penance.

11 *Gautama*, of about 450 Shlokas, treating of the Sanskaras, the relative Position and Duties of the four Castes, Funeral Ceremonies, and Penance

12 *Hárīta*, of about 125 Shlokas, treating of Penance and Funeral Ceremonies

13 *Jābāli*.

14 *Jaimini*

15 *Jamadagnī*

16 *Kashyapa*

17 *Katyāyana*, occupying twelve leaves in Calcutta edition in Bengali character *

18 *Kaushāli*, of about 300 Shlokas, treating of *Dosha* (stains) and Penance.

19 *Kokila*, of 306 Shlokas, treating of Shraddhas

20 *Laugākshi*

21 *Likhita*, of about 100 Shlokas, treating of *Dana*, Penance, and Funeral Ceremonies

22 *Manu*, of 2685 Shlokas, as counted by Sir William Jones. The following is its own summary of contents —

The Creation of the World, Laws of the Sanskāras, Observances, Abiations, Marriage, the great Sacrifices, Funeral Ceremonies, Occupations, Family Rules, Things to be Ate and not-Ate, Defilements, Purifications (of men) and Utensils, the Duty of Women, the Practice of the Yoga Tapa, Moksha, and Sanvasa, the Duty of Kings, Decision of Cases, Taking of Evidence, and Examination, Law of Husband and Wife, Inheritance, Gambling, Punishment of Criminals, the Achaia (or Dutiful Walk) of Vaishyas and Shudras, Origin of the Mixed Castes, the Duties of all Classes in times of Distress, Rules of Penance, Escape

* See Bibl. Sansk. of Gildemeister, p 127

from Worldly Connexion, Enjoyment of the three kinds of Fruits of Works, Liberation, the Knowledge of Good and Evil the Duties owed to One's Country to One's Caste, to One's Family, Heietics, and Companies of Traders)*

23 *Narayana*

24 *Parashara*, of 3,300 Shlokas, treating (after the *Upodghāta* or Introduction) of the Daily Ceremonies the Four Ashramas, Sacrifice, Marriage, Funeral Ceremonies Purity and Impurity, Penance, Touch, Eatables and Non Eatables Largesses, Rendering of the Planets Houses, Temples etc Propitious Duties of Kings This Smṛiti also appears in an abridged form, of 541 Shlokas

25 The *Prajapati* or *Brahmā*, of 200 Shlokas, treating of the ordinances for Shraddhas

26 *Sanvarttaka* of 216 Shlokas, treating of the Daily Ceremonies, Largesses the Castes, the Ashramas, and Penances

27 *Shātātapa*, of 200 Shlokas, treating of Penance

28 *Shaunaka* of 204 Shlokas, treating of Sacrifice

29 *Shankha*, of 200 Shlokas treating of Deeds that are Right or Wrong (*Dharmadharma*), Purity and Impurity, Daily Ceremonies, and Funeral Ceremonies

* *Manusmṛiti*, I. 111 118 The contents of the twelve chapters are thus expressed by Sir William Jones. I. On the Creation, with a Summary of the Contents II. On Education, or on the First Order III. On Marriage or on the Second Order IV. On Economics, and Private Morals V. On Diet, Purification, and Women VI. On Devotion or on the Third and Fourth Orders. VII. On Government, or on the Military Class. VIII. On Judicature and on Law Private and Criminal. IX. On the Commercial and Servile Classes. X. On the Mixed Classes, and on Times of XI. On P and

30 *Ushana*, of 150 Shlokas treating of Purity and Impurity the Castes, Funeral Ceremonies, Buying and Selling, and Penance.

31 *Vāmana*.

32 *Vashishtha*, a favourite of the Vaishnavas, whom it supports from a sectarian point of view

33 *Vishnu*. Of this I have seen only the Laghu, or abridged form, which consists only of 110 Shlokas, treating of the Sacraments Ashramas and Castes.

34. **Vriddhashatatapa*

35 *Vyāsa*, of 84 Shlokas, treating of the Castes, Ashramas, and Largesses

36 *Yajnavalkhya* of 1200 Shlokas The first Division of this work, entitled Acharadhyaya, (the Achara chapter) contains thirteen sections, treating of Introductory Matters, Pupilage, Marriage the Castes the Duties of a Householder, the Duties of the state intervening between Pupilage and Marriage, Food permitted and forbidden, Purification, Largesses, Funeral Ceremonies the Worship of Ganapati, Propitiating the Planets, etc the Duty of Kings. The second, entitled the Vyavahāradhyaya, contains twenty-three sections, treating of Introductory Matters, Payment of Debts Oral Evidence Written Evidence, Trial by Ordeal Partition of Heritage, Boundary Disputes between Master and Servant, Sale of what has no Owner, Reversal of Gifts Repenting of Sale or Purchase, Service by Contract Opposition to Customs or Bye-Laws, Non payment of Wages, Gambling Abuse by Speech, Assualts, Violence, Reversal of Sale Partnership Theft and Robbery, Fornication and Adultery, Miscellanies The third, entitled the Prayashchitadhyaya treats of

the Atonements for Impurity, for Impromises in Times of Difficulty, for a Vanaprastha, for a Parivrāja, for Compromises in case of Disease for killing Brahmins, for killing Cows, for various kinds of Slaughter for Spirit-drinking for Theft for breaking Caste, for Debauchery of Women for Eating at Funeral Ceremonies for Inferior Sins, for Eating Things forbidden, for Wearing Blue Clothing, etc

It will be observed on looking to this list, that most of these Smritis are exceedingly brief. Some of them appear to me to be made up of the collected quotations ascribed to their respective authors, and not to be distinctive works, forming either individual treatises or a Code of Laws. As to an arrangement of them, founded either upon their age or matter, the Hindus are not agreed. Vijnaneshvara, the author of the great commentary on Yajnavalkya, mentions twenty-four of them in the following order — Manu, Atri, Vishnu, Harita Yajnavalkya Ushana Angira, Yama, Apastamba, Sanvarita, Katyayana, Brihaspati, Parashara Vyasa Shankha Likhita Daksha, Gautama, Shatatapa and Vasishtha*. He does not however consider this list exhaustive.

* Mitakshara, i. 1 (p. 2 Cal Ed. of 1813) Nilakantha Bhatta (in the Sanskara Mayukha 1 p. 1) after quoting this list of twenty-one authors of Smritis gives the following other list on the authority of Parthuna — Manu Angira, Vyasa, Gautama Atri Ushana, Yama, Vasishtha, Daksha, Sanvarita Shatatapa Parashara, Vishnu, Apastamba, Harita Shankha Kātyāyana Guru (alias Brihaspati), *Pṛśhṭā, *Nārada, *Yogi, Baudhajana Pitambara (alias Brahmā or Prajāpati), Subantu, Kashyapa *Babbhu, *Iaithena, *Viśghra, Satyavrata, Bharadvaja, *Gārgya Kātyāyana (name repeated in the MS.) Jabāli Jamadagni Langakshi *Brahmasambhava. To the Smritis in this list not mentioned above I have prefixed an asterisk. Nilakantha gives the preference to Manu of all the Smritis.

Copies of the minor Smritis are now rather rare, the Hindus being generally satisfied with the references made to them in their Digests of Law. The following is the substance of that of *Angira*. It treats of various Penances for Caste and other offences, and is intimately connected with the subject of Caste under our notice.

Repeat the Penances (prescribed) in the case of the Ashramas, and all the Varnas. A Bráhman drinking out of the vessel or well of a Chandala is to perform the Santapana * the Kshatriya, the Prájapatiya † the Vaishya, half the atonement of the Kshatriya, and the Shúdra, the half of that of the Vaishya. The water of a Chandala ought to be out vomited by these classes as soon as swallowed and the Prájapatiya Penance performed. If the water has remained for some time in the stomach the Bráhman has to perform the Krichchhra ‡ and Santapana. If water from the vessel of a Chandala be drunk in consequence of thirst cow's urine must be drunk for three days. If any Dvija (twice-born) person [a Bráhman Kshatriya or Vaishya] do not wash his hands after relieving nature after eating, or after touching a dog, he has to bathe and twice repeat the Gayatri. If a Bráhman drink of a well polluted by ordure he has to perform the Krichchhra and Santapana for three days. A person who looks on or touches a crane, a Bhishu § a vulture a rat, an ass a Baka || a jackal a sow, has to perform three Ashramas [thrice to sip water and spit it out.] If a Bráhman eat of these animals he has to perform the Krichchhra, Santapana and the Prájapatiya. Eating of the flesh of a dog or cock he has to perform the Chandrayana ¶. If a Bráhman speak when

Fasting for a night and a day and taking the *panchagavya* the five products of the cow milk butter curd dung and urine

† Fasting for three days, eating once for three days, abstaining from asking anything for three days, and fasting for three days.

‡ Alastarin, from water for twenty one days.

§ Supposed to be a kind of water bird

|| Ardea Garzetta Sykes

¶ Fasting the first day of the moon one mouthful the second day two the third day three and so on till the full moon, when the supply is to begin to be lessened by a mouthful daily till a new moon occurs. This is the Yavamadhyá Chandrayana. In the Pippalika the reverse form of eating is practised.

relieving nature or when eating, he should touch another Bráhman [Such it is here added, is also the dictum of Shankha and Likhita.] If on any cotton matress, or ornamented or red clothing any defiling fluid fall, then let the article be purified by drying it and sprinkling it with pure water* If a Dvija touch a Washerman a Charmakára (shoemaker) a Nata (player) a Dhívara (fisherman) or a Buruda (worker-in bambus) he has to perform an Acharana with water If any of these castes touch a Dvija when he is uckchhishta † he has to remain for a night without eating, contenting himself with drinking If any Dvija eat of the leavings of the forementioned castes he has to fast for three days and if he be a Brahman, he has to perform the Santapana, while the Kshatriya has to perform three fourths of it the Vaishya two fourths of it and the Shúdra one fourth If a Bráhmaṇ go to the wife of a Shvapala, † he has to bathe with all his clothes and take a draft of clarified butter If he do this without the desire of the woman he has to bathe seven times and if he does this with her desire, but without his own, he has to bathe ten or eleven times If any woman under a vow become impure (through her courses) her vow is not destroyed but to be implemented after four days If a Bráhman touch the water of a Chandala, he has to perform the Prájapatiya and Krichchhra. [So also says Sumanta] If a Bráhman eat the food of a Chandala or outcasted person he has to perform the Parakas penance, and a Shudra he Krichchhra. If any person go to the wife of an outcast or eat with her or accept any thing at her hands he has to abstain for a month from grains or perform the Chándrayana penance If the flesh of a dog an elephant, an ass, or a man fall into a well or tank, the whole water should be taken out, and the well or tank cleaned. If any Brahman partake of water in which a corpse has fallen, he must remain awake for a day and night, and afterwards swallow the Panchagavya. Or he must perform the Chándrayana or Tapta krichchhra.||

This is to prevent injury and inconvenience by a regular washing as in ordinary cloth which is to be washed entire.

* In the state of impurity following eating without washing

† Literall a do-eater a designation applied to several of the low castes

§ Fasting for twelve days

|| Drinking h t-water milk and ghi for three days each

There is no fault incurred by wearing what is blue at the time of sporting with women but there is at the time of Sandhyá, (the morning and evening ceremonies,) Snána (ablution) Japa (meditation) Homa (burnt sacrifice), Svádhyáya (reading the Vedas), and Pitrítarpana (pouring out water to Ancestors) and Yajna (sacrifice), which would be rendered useless by it. A Bráhman dealing in indigo becomes an apostate or he must perform three Krichchharas. If a Bráhman wear a blue dress he should remain awake for a night and a day and swallow the Panchagavya. If a Bráhman passes through a field of indigo he has to do the same. If a Dvija eat of grain raised in a field in which indigo had before been sown he has to perform the Chándráyana. Fields in which indigo has been sown are purified after being kept fallow for twelve years. The husband of a widow remains in hell while he wears cloth dyed with indigo *

A woman performing any fast or vow (in her own behalf) while her husband is alive shortens his life, and goes to hell after death. A woman is impure to the fourth day after her illness, and if she die in the interval no Sanskára is to be performed for her till after this interval.

If a person be impure in a crowd, his impurity does not attach to others. The metal mixture Kásat is purified by ashes. It is cleansed from spirits by being washed and dried. The Kásá vessels from which Shudras drink are purified by touching with them a cow. A vessel touched by a dog or a crow, is purified by an application of ten kinds of salt. Golden and silver vessels are purified by the wind and the rays of the sun and moon. Vessels of Kasa are pure for the washing of hands and feet, and not for eating or drinking. Golden and silver vessels which may have been six months in the ground are purified by water. Copper vessels are purified by acid substances. A woollen cloth touching a corpse is not defiled.

If a man go between a husband and wife, or between fire and a Bráhman or between a cow and a Bráhman he must fast for a day and night.

* It is difficult to account for this hostility to indigo. Perhaps, the Bráhmans who had established white as their religious colour were afraid of the introduction of new fashions when their progress to the south of India brought them in contact with the Aborigines using indigo.

† Bell metal or an alloy of zinc and copper

No fruit occurs for ablution performed without the Darbha-grass 4 or for largeesses given without water 5 or for Japa performed without counting. The placing the half instead of the whole of the foot upon an Asana (sacred seat) and speaking while eating are faults equivalent to the eating of beef. If any man drink water or eat food that has fallen on the ground, he has to perform the Chandrayana. Dry rice is (fully) digested after seven nights, and vegetables ate with rice after fifteen nights. Milk and curds are digested after a month, clarified butter after six months, and oil after a year. A person taking the food of a Shudra for a month remains a Shudra and after death becomes a dog (*sic!*) 6. A person who becomes fat by eating the food of a Shudra has no future good issue. Issue begotten after eating Shudra's food is of the Shudra caste. A person who dies with Shudra's food in his stomach becomes a village pig or is born in a Shudra's family. A person who sacrifices after eating with Shudras is forsaken by Pitrîs and Dévas, and goes to the Raurava (dreadful) hell 7. The wisdom of a Brâhman looking to a Shudra (with expectation) becomes powerless. Food ought to be given on the ground to such a Brâhman, as to a dog. If a Shudra make a Namaskara 8 to a Brâhman, and a Brâhman accept it, the Shudra first goes to hell and then the Brâhman. If an Agnihotri Brâhman (a Brâhman maintaining the sacred fire) continue to eat the food of a Shudra his five acquisitions—his soul, his Brâhma, and three fires—are destroyed. A Brâhman, according to A pastamba, is not to eat anything which may have been in his hand when he touched a Shudra. A Brâhman ought to eat the food of a Brâhmar daily that of a Kshatriya on the Parvas 9 and on occasion that of a Vaishya but never that of a Shudra. The food of a Brâhman is (to the Brâhman) like ambrosia that of a Kshatriya, like milk that of a Vaishya like food (properly so called) and that of a Shudra

The reference here is to the necessity of dipping presents in water or applying water to them, when giving them to Brâhmans. See before p. 9.

† For an account of the Hindu hells and the sins said to lead to them see Wilson's *Vishnu Purâna* pp. 207-8.

‡ A form of salutation to be given only by the Dvijas and to one another.

§ "Parva is a term for particular periods of the year (as the equinoxes, solstices, etc.) A name given to certain days in the lunar month as the full and change of the moon and the 6th, 8th, and 10th of each half month. —Molesworth's Marâthi Dictionary

like blood. The Bráhman's food is holiness the Kshatriya's like an animal the Vaishya's like a Shúdra, and a Shúdra's, like hell. The sin of a man is acquired by the eating of his food, he who eats his food eats his sin. If a Bráhman or Brahmachári eat or drink (without bathing) in ignorance of his impurity from a birth (*sútaka*) which has occurred let him take the Panchagavya and fasting three days he will be clean. A Bráhman becomes pure in ten days after a birth in his own class a Kshatriya in six days, a Vaishya in three days, and a Shúdra in one day. The birth into which a Dvija will go after eating of the food of a Shúdra, while he (the Dvija) is in a state of impurity from a death or birth is to me (Angiras) unknown. Manu says he will be a vulture for twelve births, or a pig for ten births, or a dog for seven births. No defilement from birth or death occurs when the party concerned is practising the Homa, celebrating a marriage, or erecting a tabernacle for sacrifice. If a fly or a louse be found in food at the time of eating water is to be applied to the eyes, and a little of (the sacred) ashes sprinkled on the food. If nature be relieved in a forest or place in which there is no water, or where there is the fear of tigers or thieves, there is no defilement from the disuse of water. It is sufficient ten times to touch the ground. If a part, become impure while eating, he has to put out his mouthful and perform ablution. If he has swallowed his mouthful he will become pure by fasting a day or night but if he has completed his meal he will become pure by fasting three nights. If he has ate improper food while seated in his Pankti (line) he should fast for a day and night, and afterwards swallow the Panchagavya. Divisions in Panktis are caused by fire ashes, pillars doors, water and roads. After sitting in one Pankti no one should touch that of others. The Sparsha (defilement by touch) is not communicated to those in one's own Pankti but it is communicated to those of others. A Bráhman is not freed from sin and impurity by repeating the Vedas but from knowing the meaning of the Smritis. If a man repent of his sin and resolve not to repeat it, he becomes pure by that repentance and by reading the Védangas. As fire consumes living trees, so one skilled in the Védas consumes his own sins. Sin does not occur from confidence in God, but from ignorance and inadvertence, on which account only it is consumable.

In the house of a king, in a cow's fold and in the presence of a God or Bráhman and at the time of worship and eating shoes ought to be pulled off. A religious king ought to cut off both the feet of any person who will sit with his Padul as (wooden slippers) on his seat. An Agnihotri, a Tapasví, and a person learned in the Védas may always wear Padukas, no other person ought so to do without punishment. The Chandrayana penance ought to be performed by all who eat in the house of a woman promised in marriage to one person and given to another, in the house of a woman who has become pregnant before marriage and in the house of a woman who has become pregnant before she is ten years old and in the house of a woman who has forsaken her husband and become an adulteress. Hell is the consequence of eating in the house of a woman without offspring. They who live on the property of a woman (*Strídhana*) go to hell. He who takes away the food of a King the food of a Shudra or the glory of a Bráhman, or the food of a person labouring under the Sutaka, eats the sin of the world. He who touches a female Chandála at night, becomes pure by touching in the morning the water brought by Jay by bathing in it, and by drinking it. A Dasa, Nupita (barber) Gopala (cowherd) Kulanutra (common cultivator literally a friend of the family), and an Ardhasíri (a cultivator giving up half the produce) may eat with a Shudra. If a Dvija eat with a Shudra he has to perform the Chandrayana. There is no atonement for a man who has intercourse with a Vrishali (a woman who has her courses before her marriage). He who touches from inadvertence an Ajapala a Mahishya, a Vrishalipati has to perform ablution of his person and dress (*sachetasnana*). An Ajapála is the husband of a barren woman. A Mahishya is a man who forgives the adultery of his wife. A Vrishalipati is the husband of a girl who had her courses before being married. The father mother and elder brother who tolerate a girl in her courses before marriage go to hell. A Bráhman who will marry such a girl is not to be spoken to or admitted into society. The ancestors who look on a Mahishya in front on a Vrishalipati, in the middle and on a usurer behind, go into despair. Ancestors, Gods and Rishis go into despair on seeing a person with spots on his body, a leper, a person with injured nails and a person with black teeth. The gods do not eat in the house of a backbiter a liar or a man in subjection to

his wife, or in the house in which a paramour is found. The ancestors eat the clarified butter of the person whose nails and hair are good, who does not wear red-clothing, and whose ears are larger than two fingers. As long as the food is hot, and no conversation takes place, the ancestors feed with the eaters. The qualities of the clarified butter are not to be spoken of till the ancestors are satisfied. Whatever mouthfuls at a *Havyákavya* (*Shrádha*)* are ate by the Bráhmans are ate by the ancestors. No *Vrata* (service in consequence of a religious vow) avails till the Bráhmans are satisfied with gifts of food and gold. Purification from any impurity thrown on the body by a crow or a crane is obtained by washing the stain. By six nights drinking of the juice of the *Lotus*, *Udumbara*, *Bilva*, *Kusha*, *Ashvatha*, and the *Palasha*,† the stain incurred by participating of articles forbidden to be eaten drunken or tasted and of blood, urine and faeces is removed. If this is not done, let three *Krichchhras* or three *Chándrás*, or the repetition of the sacraments upwards from the *Jatakarma*.‡ [Here follows a repetition of a verse before occurring] In doing penance let respect be had to country, time, convenience, property, fitness, and condition. There is no defilement from water or grass occurring on a road, for they become pure by the rays of the sun and the wind. An infirm person is purified by the touch of a person making an ablution in his behalf. [Here follows a statement of the methods to be adopted to obtain ceremonial purification after touching a woman in her course.] Purity is obtained by ablution after touching a corpse, or hearing of a birth or death. This virtue is in water, because the sun sees it, because it is heated by fire and because the constellations observe it at night. Water is always holy whether still or flowing whether in a well or reservoir or river so says *Vakpati* (*Brihaspati*). *Angirá* muni has said that water (if defiled) is purified by waving a stick over it, or by casting a clod of earth into it or applying cow's dung to it. Milk dung, urine, curds, whey, and butter and the tail of a cow are always holy. Everything has now been

* Oblations to the Manes of ancestors performed by clarified butter and food.

† The *Udumbara* is the *Ficus glomerata* the *Kusha*, the *Poa cynosuroides* grass the *Bilva*, the *Aegle marmelos* and the *Palasha*, the *Butea* frondosa.

‡ See before p. 61

communicated to you, O intelligent one. If a cow is made to fall a Krichchara has to be performed, if it fall on a stone, two Krichcharas, if it fall into a large well, half a Krichchara if into a ditch a quarter of a Krichchara. If it be struck by an instrument, three Krichcharas have to be performed by the killer if by a stick two if by a clod of earth one, or the Prājāpatya. One has not to speak with a [strange] woman or sing with her. One must not go at night into a cowpen or perform any Védo ceremony. For cutting or twisting the tail (of a cow) two-fourths (of a Krichchhara) are prescribed, for cutting off a foot, a shaving with the exception of the Shukha (tuft) and for felling the shaving of the Shukha, are prescribed. The shaving of a woman to the extent of two handbreaths of her hair is prescribed for a similar offence. Let a man who is purified and undefiled by touch walk (on his way) without speaking. He who is touched by a person not (ceremonially pure), becomes pure in three nights. If during the Sutaka of a person mourning a death he receive tidings of a birth, his Sutaka closes after the tenth day but if his Sutaka is in the first instance for a birth, and he afterwards hears of a death the days of each Sutaka must be fulfilled [i.e. it must be completed in twenty days]. If a Sutaka is commenced for one birth and another be heard of, or if a Sutaka be commenced for a death and another be heard of one Sutaka is sufficient, and no sin occurs from the arrangement. If a Sutaka occur during a Vrata, let the Vrata be completed and a dinner given to the Brāhmans. Whoever repeats this Shastra declared by Angiras becomes free from all sin.*

On looking at the preceding list of the Smritis, it will be observed, that most of the works noticed are exceedingly brief. They appear to me to be made up, in some instances, of the collected quotations ascribed to their reputed authors,—who were principally Rishis of the Vedic times who had nothing whatever to do with their composition,—and not to be distinctive works forming either individual treatises or a Code of Laws, properly so-called.

The Smritis in most repute throughout India in general

are those bearing the names of *Manu Yajnavalkya*, and *Pāṇḍara*. The best commentary on *Manu* is that of the Karnataki Brahman *Kulluka Bhatta*, usually printed with the text, and that on *Yajnavalkya*, that of the Shaiva Dandi *Vignaneshvari* called the *Mitaksharā*. The best digest of all the *Smritis* and of the interpretations made of them is that entitled *Mayukha*, (the concentrated Rays of Light) a work of twelve divisions and thirty-six thousand *Shlokas*, written by *Nilkantha Bhatta Kashi*, a Deshīstha Brahman who flourished considerably upwards of three centuries ago. The best digest of the privileges and duties of the Shūras, forming the great mass of the Indian community, as set forth in the Law-Books, is that entitled the *Shudra Kamalakar* by *Kamalakar Bhatta* also of Kashi, who was somewhat posterior to the author now mentioned. Numerous other digests of Hindu Law are in use in the different provinces of India *. Of these the *Nannaya Sindhu*, treating more of religious than secular matters, is often referred to in the Mārathā Country.

The work bearing the name of *Manu* is sufficiently well known by the translation of Sir William Jones. The original text of it has been repeatedly printed, and sometimes with the commentary of *Kullukī Bhatta*. It has the best claim of any Hindu Law-Book to the title of a Code though it is by no means a homogeneous or self consistent work. It commences by a professed recital by *Manu* (the primitive *Manu* the all knowing and all-powerful) to the assembled sages, of the doctrine

* Of these the largest list (founded however more on hearsay than precise research) is to be found in Stedee's Report above referred to

of the evolution or formation of the universe and all its inhabitant., animate and inanimate according to the speculative system which it is intended to support This Code of Laws (Shāstra) it tells us Manu learned from the Deity himself and afterwards communicated to Marichi and the other nine Prajapatis or Lords of Creation* Manu, it adds, requested *Bhrigu* to recite the Code which is consequently announced in his name The claims for its great antiquity first proposed by Sir Wilham Jones in his Introduction to his translation of it, have of late years been abandoned by all orientalists and others of a more moderate character are now urged in its behalf There are allusions in it not only to the three sacrificial Vedas, but to the Atharva Veda, to the Brahmanas, to the Upamshads to the Vedangas and to the Shūti etc † Professor Lassen shows that at least portions of it are older than the Buddhist Sutras which contain the name of the god Shiva, not to be found in it Parts of it too, as the same author shows, must have been written when the Aiyas knew but little of the nations of the South of India of which only the *Odras* (of Orisa) the *Dravidas* (of the south-east of the peninsula) the *Avantyas* (of Ujjayani,) and the *Sātratas* (of the Satpuda range) are mentioned by it.‡ The collecting, and probably the making, of some of the laws of the Code, however, must have been a work of later times Heretics and their books are sometimes mentioned in it in such a keen way as to make us believe that they had an organiza-

* Ati Angiras, Pulastya Pūjaha, Kratu Prachēta, or Daksha, Vashishtha, Bhrigu, and Narada These names are principally those of the Vedic poets elevated to the rank of Prajapatis.

† Manu xi 33 iv 100 etc ‡ Manu Chap. x. 44 21 23

tion hostile to that of the Bráhmans, such as first appeared among the Buddhists * Female devotees, unknown to Bráhmanism, and said by Kullíka, the commentator, to belong to the "Buddhist sect," are alluded to † The reference to the *Chinas* would lead us to infer that portions of the work were made after the origination of the dynasty of *Tsin* (B C 260) taking its name, however, perhaps from an older tribe, and to the *Yavanas*, that the same portions were written subsequent to the advent of the Greeks to the north of India ‡ The distinctions between Mantras and Brahmanas and between *Shruti* and *Smṛiti* are recognized by it § The Smritis of Atri, Shaunaka, and Vasiṣṭha, etc are quoted by it || Reference is made in it to *Shudra* kings (probably late authorities among the Aryas) though only to condemn them ¶ It takes notice of the art of writing, and the recording of evidence on certain occasions ** Dr Max Müller thinks that it has received the name of the *Mánavá-dharmashástra* from its being the law-book of the *Manavas*, a subdivision of the sect of the Taittiriyas †† The date of the oldest Smṛiti collections is probably not to be extended beyond the second century before Christ. It is evident from many of their portions, that they originated in a dark period of Indian history, as far as Bráhmanism is concerned ‡‡

* Manu, ii 10 11 xi 66

† Manu, v ii 863

‡ See passage quoted before p 60

§ Manu, iv 19 ii 10 14 vi 89

|| Manu iii 16 viii 140

¶ Manu iv 61

** Manu, viii 261

†† Hist of Sans Lit p 61

‡‡ For the opinion of Sir William Jones on the faults of Manu, see before pp. 42 3

I have already drawn copiously on Manu for illustrations of the Caste system in the first sections of this work which treat of the sphere and authority of caste, of the orthodox view of the four original castes and of the orthodox view of the mixed castes. The following abstract of important matters not already noticed, however, may be here advantageously made —

Manu, who speaks of the formation, as has been shown of the Brahman Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shudra from the head, arms, thighs and feet of the godhead according to the orthodox view of caste* does not consistently adhere to this theory. He speaks of Brahma becoming half male and half female and as forming Viraj in that female of Viraj forming Manu of Manu forming the ten Prajapatis of the ten Prajapatis forming seven other Manus and Devas, and Maharslus of boundless power, and various other creatures, including apes, fishes, birds, beasts, deer and Men.† Mr. Muir appropriately asks If the castes had been previously created by Brahma what necessity existed for their being formed at another stage of the creation by the Maharslu, the third in succession from Brahma? And he appropriately adds It would seem as if the legend of the distinct creation of castes had been part of a separate and perhaps later tradition, engrafted on the other account.‡ But this is not all. We have already seen the doctrine laid down in Manu that the Kshatriya was formed from particles of eight gods specified.§ Afterwards referring to the three gunas or qualities of Deity according to Hindu speculation Bhrigu speaks of Shudras and Mlechchhas (like the ravenous animals) being of the middle quality of Tama or darkness of Churanas Supurnas, hypocrites Rakshasas, and Pishachas being of the highest conditions to which the Tama quality can extend of Jhallas Mallas Natas those who live by the use of weapons and gamblers and drunkards being of the lowest forms of the Tama quality, of Rajas Kshatriyas and Purohitas and of men skilled in controversy being of the middle state of the Tama quality of Gandharvas Guhyikas Vakshas, Vidyadharas, and Apsaras being of the highest

* Manu 1. 3. See before, pp. 52 &c.

† Manu 1. 3. 29
‡ Muir's Son. Ind. T. 1. 16

§ See before 1

of the quality of *Rug* or passion of the practisers of *tapa* Yatis Vipras, the hosts of the (lower) heavens the Nakshatras and the Daityas, being of the highest of the forms of the quality of truth *Satra*, of sacrificers Rishis Deities, the Védas, the fixed stars, the years the Pitrés (Manes of ancestors), being of the middle forms of the quality of goodness and of Brahma, the Creator of the universe virtue the Great One, the Unapparent One being the highest forms of the quality of goodness* "Here, as remarked by Mr Muir, "we see Kshatriyas and king's priests (*purohitas*) who of course are Bráhmans, in the same grade while other Bráhmans of different sorts rank in two of the higher classes. The highest class of Bráhmans rank with the Rishis and the Védas, while the Védas themselves are only in the second class of good (*sattvika*) existences, and lower than Bráhma, their alleged author †

Of the spread of the Aryas over India, first after their settlement on the banks of the Indus and its affluents and secondly, after their settlement between the rivers Sarasvati and Drishadvati, in what was called *Brahmávarita* Manu gives us some interesting information

As far as the eastern and as far as the western oceans, between the two mountains [Himavat and Vindhya just mentioned] lies the tract which the wise men have denominated *Aryavartta* [the abode of the Aryas] Included in this general region was the region of the *Brahmarshis* comprehending Kurukshétra Matsya, Panchála and Shuraséna while the country which lies between the Himavat and the Vindhya, to the east of Vinashana, and to the west of Prayaga [the junction of the Ganges and the Yamuna] was distinguished as the *Madhyadésh* or middle country All these regions, it will be observed, were north of the Vindhya range They formed at the time at which the portion of Manu in which they are mentioned was written the land of Bráhmanism "From a Bráhman (*agryajanna*) born in that country (*Aryavartta*) let all men on earth learn their several usages. That land on which the black antelope naturally grazes, is held fit for the performances of sacrifices, but the land of Mléchchhas differs widely from it 'Let the three first classes invariably dwell in those before mentioned countries, but a Shúdra distressed for subsistence may sojourn wherever he chooses ‡

* Manu xii 48 0

† Muir's Text. p 18

Manu ii 17 24

Though the Hindus are aware of the extension of the privileged country to the whole of India they still act in the spirit of these last quotations, and generally oppose foreign travel. The river Aṇḍak (the name of which etymologically means 'obstruction') is the boundary of journeying allowed by caste. A passer over the sea (samudraya) is among the parties inadmissible into company at a repast, and to be avoided at Shraddhas.*

The great scrupulosity of Caste in regard to certain kinds of food is thus explained by Manu on the principle of the metempsychosis: 'These (animals and vegetables before mentioned) enshrouded in innumerable darkness, by reason of (past) actions have internal consciousness, and are sensible of pleasure and pain. †

The teaching of the code of Manu is confined by him to Brahmins (1. 103)

In accordance with statements already made, Manu declares that "the Veda, Smriti, pure usage (exemplified), and self-satisfaction are the quadruple indications of Duty" (ii. 12). With this dictum all the lawbooks agree.

The account of the *Sanskaras* or Sacraments, given by Manu is briefer than that found elsewhere. Parties neglecting the *Upanayana* or investiture, are held to be *Vrutyas* (members of the profanum vulgus) who are degraded from the *Gayatri*, and with whom no connexion whatever is to be formed by any Brahman. The following caste distinctions are recognized — 'The *yajnopavita* of the Brahman is to be of cotton, to be put over his head in three strings that of a Kshatriya, of flax and that of a Vaishya, of woollen thread' (ii. 27-44). The ceremony of *Keshanta*, or cutting off the hair (in the sixteenth year of a Brahman in the twenty second of a Kshatriya, and the twenty fourth of a Vaishya) prescribed by Manu (ii. 60) is not now attended to.

In connexion with Brahmanical discipleship, Manu uses very strong language about the benefit of pronouncing the *Gayatri* and its prefixes (the triliteral syllable AUM or combinedly OM, and the *vyahritis*). § A thousand repetitions of the *Gayatri* by a *Dvija* releases him in a month from a great offence, as a snake from his slough. 'The Brahman, Kshatriya, or Vaishya, neglecting the *Gayatri* meets

Manu ii. 16

† Manu i. 49

‡ A list of the *Sanskaras* is given above, pp. 60-61

§ See before p. 146

with contempt from the virtuous. It is the "mouth (or principal part) of the Véda. Whoever practises the daily repetition of it for three years approaches Brahma moves as freely as air and assumes an aerial form. All rites pass away but it remains. " By the sole repetition of the Gayatri, a Brahman may undubitably obtain beatitude let him perform or not perform any other religious act. (ii 76 87)

[Here is the wonderful Mantra deriving its name from the measure (in three lines) of the Sukta of the Véda from which it is taken —

ॐ भूर्भुवः स
तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भग्नो देवस्यधीमहि
धियो यो न प्रचोदयात् ॥

Om! bhur bhuvah svah!

*Tat savitur varényam bha:go devasya dhumah:
dhijo yo nah prachodayat **

—Om! Earth! Sky! Heaven!—We contemplate that praiseworthy Sun (*Savit, i*) of divine lustre, may he direct our intellects!]

This Gayatri it is afterwards enjoined must be repeated several times at dawn and dusk (which form with the noon the three daily times of *Sandhya* with the Hindus), on the penalty of the Dvija being excluded, like a Shudra from the sacred observances of the twice-born (ii 101 3)

The Brahman disciple must acquire his knowledge of the Véda from his preceptor lest he should prove a thief and sink to the region of torment (ii 116), yet in times of difficulty he may learn the Veda from other sources (ii. 241). Neglect of the prescribed form of returning a salutation deprives him, like a Shudra of the right of salutation (ii.126)

Wealth, kindred, age, conduct, and learning entitle men to respect.
* The seniority of Vipras, however, is from knowledge, of Kshatriyas from valour, of Vaishyas, from wealth and gram and of Shudras from (the priority of) birth (ii 136 157) A Brahman neglecting the study of the Vedas becomes, with his descendants like a Shudra (ii. 168). He is not allowed to pronounce sacred texts, till his new birth occurs, before which he is on a level with a Shudra (173) A Bráhman student, but not a *Rajanya* or a *Vaishya*, must be a mendicant (190)

* Rig Veda, ii. 40 in which however the words *Om bhur bhuvah svah* do not occur. The selection of the Gayatri for distinction as a Mantra seems to have originated in the prevalence of solar worship among the ancient Indians.

When treating of the married state Manu thus ordains — Only a *Shudra* woman ought to be the wife of a *Shudra* — she and a *Vaishya*, or a *Vaishya* — they two and a *Kshatriya* of a *Kshatriya* — those two and a *Brahman* of a *Brahman* (iii 13) Marriages however, must now be confined to parties belonging to each caste respectively* Manu mentions also the eight kinds of Indian marriages allowed in his day† (iii 21 41) The minute and strange rules for the intercourse of married persons (iii 45 50) I pass over

In domestic management there are five places of extinguishment of life — the hearth the millstone, the broom, the pestle and mortar and the water jar but penance for the stain thus occasioned is performed by the five great sacrifices, — reading the *Veds*, offering cakes and water to the manes of ancestors offering oblation to fire in behalf of the deities giving food to animals sacrificing for departed spirits (*bhutas*), and practising hospitality for men (iii. 68 90) A *Brahman* may be a guest in the house of a *Brahman*, but not a *Kshatriya*, unless he eat after the *Brahmans* (100 110, 111)

The following parties, among others are to be avoided by *Brahman* householders in connexion with their daily rites — *Brahmans* guilty of theft, atheists, gamblers those who perform many sacrifices for the vulgar physicians *Devalaka* (dressers of images), and flesh sellers. The following parties must all be shunned — a messenger a person with bad nails or blackish teeth an opposer of his preceptor, a phthisical man a feeder of cattle, a younger brother married before the elder an elder brother not married before the younger a dependant on the wealth of relatives, a dancer, an *Avakurni* (a person of the first or fourth *Ashrama* who has violated chastity) a *Vrishalipati*,† the son of a twice-married woman, a man blind of an eye, one in whose house an adulterer dwells a teacher of the *Veds* for hire, one who has given hire to such a teacher the pupil of a *Shudra* and a *Shudra* preceptor a rude speaker and a *Kunda-golaka* (the son of an adulteress either before or after the death of the adulteress) one who eats with a *Kundja*, a seller of the *Soma* plant, a traveller by the ocean, a *Baandi*

an oilman, a drinker of spirits a seller of liquid a maker of bows and arrows a father instructed in the Véda by his son, a leper, etc The following parties must be shunned with great care—tamers and keepers of animals a Bráhman living as a Shudra a sacrificer to the Ganas one who does not practise *achára*, the husband of a twice married woman and the remover of dead bodies (m 150 166) The alleged penalties for neglecting these injunctions are in some instances, of an alarming character Food given to the seller of the moon plant becomes ordure in another world, to a physician pus to a *Devalaka* (dresser of images) offal to a usurer infamous (181)

Minute information and directions about the Shraddhas to the manes of ancestors and to deities follow The most favourable place for a Shráddha is some unfrequented place If there be no consecrated fire into which some of the oblations may be dropped, they may be dropped into the hands of a Bráhman, who is the equivalent of fire (212) The Bráhman must be very careful about his manner of eating What he eats with his head enveloped with his face to the south (the habitat of the Rákshasas), with his sandals on his feet, the demons assuredly devour He should not be seen eating by a Chandála, a pig a cock, a dog, a woman in her courses or a eunuch The fool who gives the residuum of the Shraddha to a Shudra falls into the hell *Kálarítra*. The superstitious *pindas*, or lumps * may be given to a cow, to a Bráhman to a kid or to fire Not only are the ministrant Bráhmans satisfied but the manes themselves They are satisfied, according to the code for a month by the common grains and pot-vegetables for two months, with fish, for three months, with the flesh of the antelope, for four with mutton for five with eatable birds for six with the flesh of the kid, for seven, with that of the spotted deer for eight with that of the black antelope, for nine, with that of the ruru (*nilgai?*) for ten, with that of the boar and buffalo for eleven with that of hares and turtles for a year, with cow's milk and the food cooked of it for twelve years, with that of the long-eared white goat for ever with the *kálashála* (the enduring vegetable) with the flesh of a rhinoceros and of the iron-coloured kid with honey and with foreign grains eaten by hermits (m. 238 239 249, 260 267, 271)

* Often rendered funeral cakes.

Animal food however, is now generally abstained from at Shrāddhas, according to the following smṛiti —

भिज्जदीत्र गवाक्षम सन्यासं पत्नेतुक ।
देवराज्य सुनोसात्त कर्त्तृ पंच विवरणत ॥ * ॥

" The Agnihotra, the slaughter of cows, Sannyāsa, (the use of) flesh at the feast for the Pitris the raising of offspring by the brother of (a deceased) husband are five things forbidden in the Kali (Yuga). Of these the Agnihotra and Sannyāsa, however, are still in practice, having been and to have been restored by Shankara Āchārya.

When treating of the means of subsistence for the Brāhmaṇa household Manu as we have seen, allows him to live by truth or falsehood, but not by hired service.† A Brāhmaṇa when hungry may beg from a king the institutor of a sacrifice, or his own pupil but from no person else. He has ever to pay respect to objects esteemed sacred. He must not step over a string to which a calf is tied, nor run when rain [the gift of Indra] falls, nor look on his own image in water. He must pass a mridanga (a kind of drum) ‡ an object of worship a Brāhmaṇa, clarified butter, honey, a place where four paths meet or large trees, with his right hand towards them. Particular rules stated with disgusting particularity (and much dwelt on in the principal law books) he has to observe when relieving nature. He must not dwell in a city governed by a Shudra king nor in one abounding with persons of low caste. He must not stand with Chandālas Pukkās or Antyāvṛasāyins, or give spiritual advice or read the Vēdās to Shūdras. He is never to despise a Kshatruṇya a serpent, or a Brāhmaṇa. He has to wear no marks which do not belong to him. He is forbidden to eat polluted food and that offered to him by persons of other castes, the legislation of Manu on these matters being similar to that of Angiras already noticed. A cultivator, a herdsman, a Dāsa a barber etc may however, eat the food of their superiors (iv 33 39 79 99 130 135 210 253)

It is not necessary to repeat what is said by Manu on the diet of Brāhmaṇas.§ In addition to former notices, this may be given — the

* Langkahi quoted in the Nirṇaya Śiḍhā, iii 1

† See before, p. 21
‡ Sir William Jones translates this a mound of earth.

§ See before, pp. 23-8

man who performs annually, for a hundred years, an ashvamedha, (or horse sacrifice) and the man who abstains from flesh meat have equal merit (v 53)

The institutes of Manu on the subject of purification are similar to those of Angiras, though somewhat more extended. Those referring to purification for the dead occupy a chief place in the code. When a child is born or when he dies in maturity all his kindred are impure. By a dead body the *Sapindas* (the seven orders of descent in the kin entitled to eat the *pinda* or lump together) are impure for ten days or for three days, when the bones have been gathered up (before the knowledge of the death has been acquired) or for one day only in the case of distinguished Brāhmans *Samānodakas*, those entitled to make the oblation of water together and embracing all known relatives not included in the *Sapindas*, become pure by simple ablution. Matters are the same in the case of births for those who seek absolute purity. In practice however, a mother is unclean for ten days after a birth, while a father becomes pure by bathing. *Sapindas* become pure in ten days after touching a corpse, *Samānodakas*, in three. The pupil of a Brahman preceptor becomes pure in ten nights, after attending the preceptor's funeral. For the death of a vender of the whole Vēda, a man dwelling in the same house with him is impure for three nights. A subject is impure for a day or night on the death of a king. In the cases in which a Brāhman becomes pure in ten days, a Kshatriya is purified in twelve, a Vaishya, in fifteen, and a Shūdra, in a month. He who touches a *Dvākuta* (one like a Chandala), a fallen one, a woman in her courses, a new-born child, a corpse, or one who has touched a corpse is purified by bathing. A Brāhmaṇī touching a human bone moist with oil is purified by bathing, touching a bone not oily by touching a cow or looking at the sun, after performing an *āchamana*. There is to be no giving of funeral water for Vratyas and those who belong to the mixed castes for female devotees, etc. A king on the throne is always pure. So is a Kshatriya dying in battle (v 58, 59, 61 65 81, 83 85 87 89 94, 98)

As to the purification of — — — objects, Manu agrees with Angiras, enum. however more instances of defilement. He gives the following instances in v 59 —

trine of *Shaucha* and *Ashaucha* places the Indian community. To Brāhmans, are pure what has been defiled without their knowledge what in cases of doubt they sprinkle with water and what they command with their speech. Waters are not defiled by cows quenching them thrust in them. The hand of an artist the food got in begging by a Brahmachāri the mouth of a woman fruit pecked by a bird an animal sucking a dog in catching deer animals killed by hunters all the cavities above the navel flies the drops from the mouth of a speaker the shadow of an object, a cow a horse the sun beam dust earth air and fire are all pure even when touching and touched (v 17 133)

To remove natural impurities various ceremonies are resorted to (v 134-139)

Shudras regardless of religion have to shave once a month to observe the laws of purity like Vaishyas and to eat the orts of the Dvijas. (140)

The laws respecting women found in Manu I here pass over with the intention of onwards referring to them

The *Vānaprastha* and the *Sannyāsi* are to be as observant of purity as the householder. To the latter the following injunction is addressed — 'Let him advance his foot purified by looking (at what is before him) let him drink water purified by cloth let him utter pure truth let him keep his heart pure" (vi 46) Here the ceremonial moral are combined. His dishes must have no fracture nor be made of bright metal. Their purification must be only with water, as in the case of sacrificial vessels. A gourd, a wooden bowl an earthen dish and a basket made of bambu are the vessels proper for the reception of his food. As a penance for his unknowingly killing animals, he has to make six *pranayamas* (suppressions of breath) daily (53 54, 69) Notwithstanding the commendation given to ascetics, the *āshrama* of the householder, who observes the Vēda and the Smṛiti and supports the other orders is the chief (89)

Much of the legislation recorded in Manu regarding the Kshatriya, or ruler is more of a civil than a religious character, though this distinction, properly speaking is not admitted in the Hindu writers. Caste partialities are not wanting in the prescription of the duties of a king as has been already shown in a former part of this work * In his administration of law, he has to regard not only what is

* See before pp 37-44.

alleged to have been revealed, but the peculiar customs of countries, tribes, castes etc (viii 46) Regard is to be had by him to the dignity of the several castes in the administration of oaths. He has to examine Bráhmins however who act as herdsmen traders, artizans, dancers singers and hued servants, as if they were Shúdras (viii 102) A Bráhman, he has to swear by his veracity a Kshatruya by his conveyance and weapons, a Vaishya by his cows, grain and gold and a Shudra by the imprecation of all kinds of sins. (113) The three lower classes he may fine, as well as banish for falsehood, but Bráhmins he must simply banish (123) The awful severity of punishments prescribed for parties insulting Bráhmins has already been noticed.* For theft (the meanness of which seems to have been prominently in the view of the Hindu legislators) a Bráhma is to be more severely punished by fine than others. The fine of a Shúdra in this case is eight-fold, of a Vaishya sixteen fold, of a Kshatruya, thirty-two fold and of a Bráhma sixty four fold or even more† (338) Touching a married woman on (the breasts) or any place which ought not to be touched and enduring complacently the improper touch of a woman, are to be viewed as a species of adultery (359) Women guilty of adultery are to be most severely punished A woman polluting a darsel is to get her head shaved two fingers chopped off and to be paraded on an ass An unfaithful wife of high family is to be devoured by dogs, while her paramour is to be burned to death on an iron bed well heated. (371 2) Committing adultery with a guarded Bráhma a Shudra has to suffer death, a Vaishya has to lose his wealth and a Kshatruya has to be fined a thousand *panas* and shaved with the urine of an ass. (374 375) A Vaishya committing adultery with an unguarded Bráhma is to be fined five hundred and a Kshatruya, a thousand (panas) but committing this offence with a guarded Bráhma they should be punished as Shúdras or be burned in a fire of dry grass or reeds. (376 7) Yet ignominious tonsure is the only punishment for Bráhmins in a case of this kind, whose death in punishment a king must not even imagine‡ More of this partial legislation in the case of adultery is found in the context (381 5)

See before p. 22

* A Bráhma however may take the property of his Shúdra See pp 21 23

† See before p. 22

Exemption from taxes is granted to persons conferring great benefits, and to Bráhmanas of eminent learning as in the case of the blind, idiotic, lame and aged (394)

The supremacy of the king in all market charges prices measurements and tolls is distinctly laid down Bráhmanas students and religious mendicants and some other classes of the community are exempt from toll (398 409)

The king has to order the Vaishya to practise trade or money lending or agriculture or attendance on cattle and to cause the Shúdra to serve the twice born (410)

A wealthy Bráhman may contribute to the support of a Kshatriya and Vaishya assigning them their respective duties His power over a Shudra in the matter of service is unlimited (413 414, 417)

The ninth chapter of Manu treats in the first instance of Females, whose position in caste and religion we shall afterwards have occasion to notice It then passes on to the matter of Inheritance which is connected more with general jurisprudence than with caste to which however some of its injunctions directly refer

If there be four wives of a Bráhman in the direct order of the classes, and sons are produced by them all this is the Smriti of partition the chief servant in agriculture the bull of the herd the riding horse or carriage the (fam'l'y) ornaments and the principal messuage shall be deducted from the inheritance and given to the Bráhman son together with a large share by way of pre-eminence Let the Bráhman have three shares of the residue the son of the Kshatriya wife two shares the son of the Vaishya wife, a share and a half and the son of the Shudra wife one share (ix 149 151) An alternative arrangement however is also sanctioned (152 156) This legislation from the progress of time and the change of usage is now obsolete in the Hindu community The marriage of the Dvija of any of three Varnas to any female not of his own caste is forbidden in the Kali Yuga.*

For a Shudra is ordained a wife of his own class and no other all produced by her shall have equal shares though she have a hundred sons. (157) A son begotten through lust by a Bráhman on a Shudra

* See quotation from the Bṛihā Naradiya in the Nirṇaya Sindhu chap. 3 near the end.

is like a corpse though alive, and thence called in law a living corpse, or *páraśava* (178)

The property of a Brahman dying without heirs near of kin or distant relatives (*sapundas* or *samánodakas*) is to be given to Brahmins who have recited the three Vedas, and who are of purity and subdued passion and who have to present water and the funeral cake to the father grandfather, and great grandfather whom they thus represent. The property of a Brahman (contrary to the rule in other castes) is never to be made an escheat by the king (186 189)

Eunuchs and outcastes persons born blind or deaf madmen, idiots, the dumb and such as have lost the use of a limb, are excluded from a share of the heritage though entitled to food and raiment. (201 2)*

Those who neglect the duties of their caste, are with public dancers, singers heretics, etc to be banished by the prince (225)

A Kshatriya, Vaishya or Shudra may discharge his debt by labour † A Brahman is to discharge it by degrees (229)

The slayer of a Brahman a drinker of ardent spirits the stealer of the gold of a Brahman and the violator of the bed of his father (natural or official) are criminals in the highest degree (230) Such parties who may not have performed an expiation are to be branded in a particular way, and to be treated as outcastes With none to eat with them with none to sacrifice with them with none to be allied by marriage to them abject and excluded from all social duties let them wander over this earth branded with marks they shall be deserted by their paternal and maternal relations treated by none with affection received by none with respect (238-9) The Brahman guilty of any of these crimes is to be banished while the offender of other classes, even though the offence may have been unpremeditated, shall be corporally or even capitally punished

* With this agrees the doctrine of Yajnavalkya and of the other authors of the Smritis
Makshar v 10 1 etc

† *Karma*. In 1839 I witnessed at Darjeeling a curious application of this principle under the administration of the agents of H H the Sixth Lord A Hindu laborer who had attached himself for the sake of company ship to my servants on the road to that wild part of India, took a *darsha* (religious rite) of the god Kunchod without paying the established fee of nine rupees He was apprehended in consequence and condemned to ply the needle for a month and a half (concurrently) to the repair of the clothing of all the officials concerned

A virtuous king must not appropriate the wealth of a Mahápátaka a sinner in the highest degree He ought to throw the fine inflicted (on such a person) into the waters as an offering to Varuna, or give it to a learned Bráhman (243 4)

A person of low caste (avaravarpa) giving pain to Bráhmans should receive a terrific punishment from the prince (248) Horrible punishments, indeed, are ordered to be inflicted on other classes of offenders Special hate is manifest to the goldsmith who is ordered to be cut to pieces with razors when guilty of fraud (276 292)

The king is cautioned against incensing Bráhmans who could destroy him with his troops, elephants horses, and cars (313)*

On Vaishyas and Shúdras is enjoined the discharge of the duties specially assigned to them †

The tenth chapter of Manu treats principally of the Mixed Castes I have already extracted its substance ‡ Some caste arrangements are intimated in connexion with the alleged genesis of the different castes and the occupations assigned to them

The Chandála and Shvapáka must live exterior to towns be denied the use of entire vessels and have as their sole wealth dogs and asses Their clothes must be those of the dead their dishes broken pots, their ornaments rus y iron Conti..ually must they wander from place to place Other classes must have no intercourse with them They must not walk by night in cities and towns They must carry the corpses of those who die without friends Their duty is to stay criminals under the king's warrant and their pr vilege is to receive their clothes, beds and ornaments (ol 6)

The offspring of a Bráhman from a Shudra woman shall be raised to the class of the father in the seventh generation The same is the law as to the offspring of a Kshatriya and of a Vaishya by a Shudra woman (64 5) But these dicta are now obsolete, as the wives of the Dasi must now be of their own class§ They are worthy of notice however as indicating corruption in the Brahmancial blood in ancient times It is curious to mark in connexion with them the following extraordinary law — As by virtue of the father's issue the descendants of

* See in connexion with this the quotations, made at p 24 above

† See before p p 44 50 ‡ See before pp 53-60 § See before p 377

animals have become reverend and celebrated Rishis (exemplified says Kulluka Bhatta in Rishishringa, in the Rámáyana) so (it is seen) that the paternal side prevails (72)

In noticing the occupations in which the Dvijas may engage when straitened for subsistence, there is a great discouragement of agriculture destructive of animal life of the sale of liquids dressed grain tila seeds (unless for sacred purposes) stones, salt, cattle in n, women, cloth dyed red, cloth made of Sana, Kshumá bark, wool (even though not red) of fruit, roots, drugs, water arms, poison, flesh meat of the Soma, milk honey clarified butter oil (of tila) sugar and the Kusha grass of forest beasts of ravenous beasts sprouts indigo lákshá (lac) and beasts with uncloven hoofs ' By selling flesh lákshá or salt a Bráhman instantly becomes an outcaste by selling milk for three days, he becomes a Shudra (86 92) The sale of some of these articles is interdicted because of their supposed sacredness, because of the loss of animal life in their production or because of their alleged impurity or liability to ceremonial defilement

The advantage of each caste seeking to discharge its own duties is illustrated by the following statute and maxim —

वरं स्वधर्मो विग्रहो न पारक्य स्वनुष्ठितं ।
परधर्मेण जीवन हि सद्य पतति जातित ॥

"One's own imposed duty though worthless is paramount —not that of another party though well instituted the person living by a strange course of duty falls instantly from Caste (97)* The Bráhman in distress however, may receive gifts from any quarter (atonements being at hand) To save life forbidden food may be taken as illustrated in the alleged cases of Auyarita Vámadeva Bharadvája and Vishvamitra often referred to in the Hindu literature† (102 8)

* This is somewhat like what we find in the Bhagavad Gita (vi 35)

श्रेयान् खधर्मो विग्रहं परधर्मत स्वनष्ठनात् ।
खधर्मे न धन श्रव परधर्मो भयश्वह ॥

One's own religion though worthless, is better than a strange religion however well instituted death in one's own religion is good that (the religion) of another beareth fear

† See above pp 150 et seq

A Kshatr̄ya may take the fourth part (of a crop or income) in time of distress (118)

Attendance on Brāhmans is the best work of a Shudra whatever else he may perform will be fruitless to him (123)

There is no guilt in a Shudra (who eats garlic and other forbidden articles) He is not fit for the Sanskāra (of initiation) He has neither the right of practising *Dharma* (duty) nor is any restraint placed on him in regard to *Dharma* * (126) Moral duties however are obligatory upon him

The eleventh chapter of Manu is devoted principally to penance and expiation It begins however with certain laws as to largesses Alms are to be given to Brāhmans seeking to marry to sacrifice to travel to those who have expended their wealth on sacred rites, and who desire to maintain their guru father, or mother, to those who are Brahmācharis and those who are afflicted with disease These nine classes of Brāhmans are *Snatakas* (purified-ones) Jewels of all sorts are to be given to Brāhmans knowing the Vēdas What is necessary to complete a sacrifice may be taken from any person even from a Shudra if a Vaishya (or other Dvija) be not near since the Shudra has no business with sacrifice A Brāhman, without being held guilty of theft may take a day food from the party who for three days has failed to supply his wants A Kshatriya must never seize the wealth of a Brāhman He gains from the Brāhman whom he protects a sixth part of his righteousness A Brāhman begging from a Shudra becomes in the next birth a Chāndala Misappropriating what he has begged for a sacrifice he becomes a Chasa, or a crow for a hundred years The person who robs the Brāhmans feeds on the offal of vultures in the other world for a hundred years A Brāhman skilled in the law may chastise those who injure him without appealing to the king He may use the Shruti of Atharvān (the Atharva Vēda) revealed to Angiras for speech is the weapon of a Brāhman to destroy his enemy as arms in the case of a Kshatriya, and wealth in the case of a Vaishya and Shudra. (xi 131)

Neither a girl nor a young woman nor a man of little learning nor a dunce nor a diseased nor the uninitiated is permitted

to sacrifice Only one who has read all the Védas must officiate at an oblation to fire. (57 8)

No man must sacrifice without bestowing liberal gifts (40) A priest who keeps an agnihotra and neglects his fire must perform the chándrāyana for one month, his neglect being equal to the slaughter of a son (41)

Proceeding to enter more formally on the doctrine of penance Manu repeats the following noticeable dicta — ' The wise say penance (is effectual) for involuntary sin and others say that it is available from the evidence of the Shruti, even for a voluntary offence A sin involuntarily committed is purged by Védic repetition , but an offence committed intentionally through infatuation, by various special penances (45 6) For certain offences deliberately committed, there is now no available penance.

Morbid changes in the body are said to occur for sins committed in the present birth, or in those by which it has been preceded To escape these penances ought to be resorted to (48 54)

Some sins are thus classified —

I. *Mahápátkas* (Great Sins)

Brahmacide, Surápána (drinking of spirits), theft (of a Bráhman's gold), adultery with the wife of a guru, and associating with parties guilty of these crimes

II. *Pátkas* (Sins) —

1.—False pretension (as to caste), bringing a false charge before a king, falsely accusing a guru,—which are nearly equal to killing a Bráhman

2. Forgetting the Brahma (the Véda), showing contempt for the Véda, giving false evidence killing a friend, eating what is forbidden, or what is unfit to be tasted,* which six (faults) are like spirit drinking

3. Appropriating a deposit, and stealing a man, a horse, silver, — Id a diamond, or any other gem, are nearly equal to stealing (the gold of a Bráhman).

4. Carnal dealing with sisters of the same womb, with a little girl, with women of the low castes or with the wife of a friend or son —which are said to be nearly equal to the violation of the bed of a guru

* गृहिता नारा योजनिष्ठ

III *Upapátkas*, (Sins of a lower degree) —

Cow killing sacrificing for outcastes (*páktah*) adultery, selling oneself deserting a mother a father a guru the reading of the Veda the (sacred) fire, or a son the marriage of a younger brother before the elder or the omission of the elder to marry before the younger giving a daughter to either of them or performing their nuptial sacrifice defiling a damsel, usury breaking one's vow (of chastity as a student) selling a tank a garden a wife or a child becoming a *Vratya* (by neglect of initiatory rites) abandoning a kinsman teaching the Véda for hire learning it from a hireling selling articles not to be sold having property in mines putting large machines to work destroying medicinal plants living by (the harlotry of) a wife, preparing charms to destroy cutting down green trees for fuel performing rites for self interest, eating prohibited food (once without a previous design) neglecting the (sacr.) fire, theft, non payment of debts having dealings with untrue *Shás* *tras* * excessive attention to music or dancing stealing grain, the base metals or cattle intercourse with a drunk woman killing a woman a *Shudra*, a *Vaishya*, or a *Kshatriya* atheism

IV The Caste destroying sins (in addition to the preceding to which they are inferior) —

Giving pain to a Bráhman smelling spirituous liquor or anything unfit to be smelt cheating unnatural practices with a male

V Sins reducing a person to a mixed caste —

Killing an ass a horse a camel an antelope, an elephant a goat a sheep a fish a snake or a buffalo

VI Sins excluding from social repasts —

Accepting presents from blameable persons engaging as a merchant (in the case of a Bráhman) serving a *Shudra* master and speaking unturth

VII Sins causing defilement (*mala*) —

Killing an insect a bird or a worm eating what has been carried with liquor stealing fruit, wood or flowers and discomposure of mind (55 70)

This classification of sins and offences, it will be noticed is made altogether on the principles of Caste which are most bias for

Leu-pāra' y ~ ¹ a Brāhmaṇa and stealing his gold are of course the greatest offences which can be committed. In a similar category is placed the drinking of spirits by a Brāhmaṇa. The reason is stated onwards "A drunk Brāhmaṇa may fall on something impure or may when intoxicated make a Vedic utterance or perform some unlawful act (97) Eating things prohibited is more heinous than incest and unnatural crime or killing a woman a Shūdra a Vaishya or a Kshatriya. Even giving pain to a Brāhmaṇa causes a loss of caste

The penances for the offences committed, so far as they are available, are regulated on the same caste principles. A Brāhmaṇa killing a Brāhmaṇa (inadvertently) may dwell in a forest for a dozen of years feeding on alms and contemplating the skull of the slain. A Kshatriya doing this, has to make himself a mark to archers or cast himself thrice headlong into blazing fire. A king, doing it, has to perform (with great presents) one of the six great sacrifices. Alternatives are also allowed among which is the surrender, in the case of the rich of property to a Brāhmaṇa learned in the Vēdās or walking to the source of the river Sarasvati. The preservation of a cow or Brāhmaṇa stones for brahmicide. The stealer of the gold of a Brāhmaṇa has (either to the destruction of his life or otherwise) to be struck by a king with an iron mace but if the offender be a Brāhmaṇa he can get off by the performance of tapa. Caste lost by the offences above specified voluntarily committed is recovered by the *santapana*, and involuntarily by the *prāyāpatya*. For exclusion from society the *chāndrāyana* is available. For killing a Kshatriya the penance asked is only the fourth part of that required for killing a Brāhmaṇa, for killing a Vaishya an eighth for killing a Shūdra, a sixteenth. If a Brāhmaṇa kill a cat, an ichneumon, a *Chasha* (the Indian blue jay), a frog, a dog, a lizard, an owl or a crow, he has to perform the same penance as for killing a Shūdra, that is the *chandrāyana* (70 132). A Brāhmaṇa having connexion or eating with a Chāndāla or other low caste woman or receiving gifts from such a person, loses his own caste if he acts unwittingly and sinks to a level with them if he acts wittingly (170). The associate for a year of a fallen person falls like him, and must perform his prescribed penance (176).

After noticing these and other penances Manu treats of the method of excluding from caste. The Sapindas and other relatives of the

patra must offer (to his manes as if he were dead) in the evening of an unlucky day a libation of water — his connections, an officiating priest (Ritsuk), and his guru being present, a slave girl breaking the pot (of water) and the kinsmen remaining impure for a day and night. They must afterwards cease to speak or to sit with him, withhold all inheritance and property from him refuse him common attentions and deprive him of his rights of primogeniture. Other parties also must cease to have any intercourse with him. A similar course is to be observed in the case of outcasted women, who may be permitted however, to be humbly fed, clothed and lodged in huts near the family residence (183 6 9). Manu contemplates the possibility of restoration to caste after this formidable ejection (187-8), but this restoration by penance after the breaking of the pot, seldom, if ever now occurs in Indian society.

Manu, as reported, again returns to the subject of penances the last laws found in the *Sanhita* ascribed to him not fitting in appropriately with those already noticed.

Neglecters of the *Gáyatri* and the sacred string (at the appointed time) are admissible to them after penance.

A person saying humph! to a Brahman must bathe, fast for a day, and clasp the feet of the offended party (205). For striking a Brahman with a blade of grass, tying him by the neck with a cloth, and overpowering him in argument, the offender must fall prostrate before him (207). A person intending to strike a Brahman with intent to kill remains in hell a hundred years actually striking him, a thousand. Every drop of a Brahman's blood shed and attracting particles of dust, demands a thousand years torment for each of these particles (206 7).

The prescribed penances are next explained and those of the *Práya*, *patya*, *Sántapana*, etc. but in a way somewhat different from that stated in the notes above appended to *Angiras* which correspond with the prevalent Brahmanical interpretation. (211 226). The alleged benefits of penance and repentance are stated at length. *Tapa* is declared to be all prevalent. (240).

Even in connexion with the future world the subject principally treated of in the twelfth or last chapter of Manu, Caste is made to appear with all its pretensions and partialities.

When treating of the three qualities of *Satva Raja*, and *Tama* (purity, passion, and darkness) said to be inherent in the productions as well as in the essence of Deity, and their connexion with transmigration (*janmantara*), and their division into their conditions of the lowest, the mean and the highest, he places *Shúdras* and *Mlechchhas* with elephants horses, hons, tigers and boars in the middle condition of the *Támasa* quality —only worms, insects reptiles etc. being below them while *Charanas*, *Suparnas*, and deceitful men, and even the devilish *Rákshasas* and *Pisháchas*, are put above them in the highest place of this quality (xii 41 44) *Jhallas*, *Mallas* and *Natas* (said by the commentator to be *Vratyas* of the *Kshatriyas*,) Manu places in the *Rájasa* condition, above all the parties above mentioned Of course the *Bráhmans* are placed in the condition of purity, according to their own grades,—devotees (*Tapasvis*), mendicants (*Yatis*), and common *Bráhmans* (*Vipras*) arriving at the lowest state of purity sacrificers and *Rishis*, at the middle, and *Brahmá* and the *Bráhmans* participating in creation (the *Prajápatis*) at the highest (xii 48 50)

The slayer of a *Bráhman* must enter the body of a dog, a boar, an ass, a camel, a bull, a goat a sheep, a stag, a bird, or of a *Chandala* or *Pukkasha*. (55) The stealer of the gold (of a *Bráhman*) must pass a thousand times into the bodies of spiders, snakes etc (57) Individuals of the four *Varnas* for omitting their peculiar (Caste) duties must enter sinful bodies, and become slaves to their foes A *Bráhman* making this omission becomes an *Ulkamukha*, (with a mouth like a flame of fire) and devours what is vomited a *Kshatriya*, a *Katapútana* and eats ordure and dead bodies a *Vaishya* a *Maitrakshajyotika*, and feeds on pus and a *Shudra*, a *Charashaka*, and feeds on lice (70 2)

The *Brahmans*, from their caste position and the possession of the knowledge of spirit (*atmánana*) and of the *Véda* are said to have peculiar facilities for the attainment of future bliss (82 87) As fire consumes with its own power living trees so he who knows the *Vedas* consumes the taint of his own (sinful) acts. (101)* On the failure of ocular inspection of the *Vedas*, of inference and of the *Shástra*, that which instructed *Bráhmans* profound is to be held to be indubitable law (105, 109)

* This sentence is a Brahmanical proverb We have met it before in *Angiras* (shloka 102)

The contents of the larger portion of the *Yágnaravalkya Smriti* and of the comment upon it of Vijnaneshvara, contained in the Mitakshara, are given by the late Mr Borrodaile, of the Bombay Civil Service, in the Appendix to His Reports of Civil Causes decided by the Bombay Court of Sadar Adalat *. Better Indices (in Sanskrit) are contained in the Calcutta edition of the work published in 1813, and in the Bombay lithographed edition of 1863. After the extracts now made from Manu, it is not necessary for the objects of this work that the references to that Law-book should be very numerous.

The Shruti Smriti, pure A chára, love of one's soul (or self) and good desires are the foundations of religion (1 17)

The mantras or sacred texts in the Sanskáras or Sacraments are to be used by Dvijas, but not by Shúdras

The teacher should instruct his disciple in Shaucha and A chára, (ceremonial purity and observance) before teaching the Védas (1 27)

A Brahman should receive the *Upanayana* in his eighth year from conception or birth a Kshatriya, in his eleventh and a Vaishya, in his twelfth. A Bráhman not receiving it before his sixteenth year a Kshatriya before his twenty second year and a Vaishya before his twenty fourth year are to be esteemed *Vrátýas* and fallen from the Sávitri (1 6 29)

During eating silence has to be maintained and water has to be drunk before and after eating

In connexion with the duties of a householder the following instructions are given. The purification and relief of the body are to be attended to. The teeth are to be rinsed. The Homa is to be performed morning and evening. The Védas and Shástras are to be studied. The worship of God is to be conducted. Water is to be poured out to the gods and ancestors. The *Vedas* *Puráñas*, *Itihasas* and what treats of the Soul are to be repeated. *Bahikarma* (sacrifice to ghosts) *Svadha* (sacrifice to ancestors) *Homa* (sacrifice to the gods),

Svādhyaya (sacrifice to Brahma), and hospitality to men are the five daily great sacrifices. A portion of the food used in these sacraments is to be thrown to dogs Chāndalas, and crows. Then, husband and wife, after other inmates of the family are satisfied, have to eat what remains. (1 5 1 30)

The following are said to be the common duties universally of all men —Abstinence from killing, truthfulness abstinence from theft, (ceremonial) purity, the control of the senses the imparting of gifts self-command compassion, endurance * (10 26)

A Brahman sacrificing with what he has begged from a Shudra becomes a Chāndala, and not sacrificing with what he has got for a sacrifice, he becomes a *bhāsa* or a crow (1 5 31)

No intercourse is to be maintained by Snatakas with hypocrites or heretics. (1 6 2) They are to dress in white clothing (10 3) Nature is not to be relieved in rivers (which are esteemed sacred) The couch, stool garden house or conveyance of any other party is not to be used by a Snataka. He is to take no food from a party not using the sacred fire (ib 32) As stated by Angiras, the Dā a Cowherd, Kulamitra, Ardhaisirīna, and Barber may eat with the Shudra (ib. 38)

The legislation of Yajnavalkya on the subject of eatables and non eatables is similar to that of Manu. Flesh procured for profane purposes or with hair or maggots food prepared for another party or prepared on a preceding day and left by another and touched by dogs or a woman in her courses, breathed on by cows, left by birds or touched by a foot is not to be ate Food of ghrīta or other liquids, wheat, barley and cow's milk, though prepared beforehand, may be taken The milk of the cow is not to be taken till the tenth day after the calving For eating intentionally the flesh of the jay or red footed (birds) and of fishes fasting is to be observed for three days The Chāndrayana is to be performed for eating onions, village p'gs, mush rooms, village fowls leeks, and carrots. Of certain five clawed animals he may eat as already intimated (1.7) by Manu.† But, in the case of

* अहेसा सत्यमस्तेय शोचमिद्रिथानेश्वर ।

दान दमोदरा धाराते सर्वेषां पर्मसाधनम् ॥

† See before p. 39

Brahmans, all use of animal food is now discouraged though it is resorted to by certain classes of them

On the purification of articles the legislation of Yajnavalkya is similar to that of Angiras (1. 8)

The section on Danadharma (or largesses) opens with the praise of the Brahmins, who are to be the objects of the liberality prescribed. The gift of a cow with the calf half born is the best of all gifts it is like that of the earth itself. The giver obtains by it a year of heavenly bliss for every hair of its body. Gold tila seeds, lamps, green trees, horses, chariots, couches etc., etc. are suitable gifts. (9)

For the performance of Shraddhas, either on the occasion of births, deaths, eclipses, or the (ninety six) established occasions in a year connected with days and months Brahmins earned in the Vedas skilled in the knowledge of Brahma, and various relatives, are to be called. Brahmins diseased, blind of an eye, of loose character of adulterous origin with bad nails, with black teeth, imperfectly clothed, of evil speech, practising merchandise, teaching for hire without manhood, practising fornication, disaffiliated to friends, backbiters, sellers of the Soma, abandoners of gurus or parents, eaters with Kunda, golakas, holders of intercourse with outcastes, thievish, of bad conduct, and of bad report, are not to be invited (1. 10. 3. 8)

The propitiating of Ganapati and of the planets which is treated of at some length, is the duty of all castes though particularly binding on the prince (1. 11, 12)

The duties of the prince are laid down soon after Manu with certain variations. When he gives land to Brahmins, the deed of gift should be on cloth or on copper plates with his seal and the names of himself and ancestry attached (1. 13. 0. 12). He is encouraged to give in charity of the fruits of his valour and he is assured that paradise (svarga) will be the result of his death in battle (ib. 15. 16). He has to preserve the *deshachara* and *Kulasthata* (the customs of countries and families) (ib. 35)

In the second chapter which treats of *Vyarakarita* or the Law of Common Life in which the legislation is of a character superior to that of the first — there is but little directly connected with Caste. Yet some important matters are to be noted in it. In discharge of debt, the claims of the Brahmins, and next in order those of Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and

Shúdras respectively, are to be regarded (ii 2 0) The convenience of Bráhmans is to be consulted in the payment of their debts (ib 7) A son should pay the debts of a father not heard of or deceased or incapacitated [according to Vijnánéshvara, on the authority of Nárada, when he has the power of administration on becoming sixteen years of age] Corporal punishment is not to be inflicted on Bráhmans (ib ii 3 12) Double or triple punishment is to be inflicted on the revilers of the Piataloma Castes* while only half punishment is to be inflicted on the revilers of the Anuloma The revilers of Bráhmans, kings, and gods are to be punished according to the *uttama sáhas* (in the highest degree, with a fine of 1 000 panas) of the other castes with the *madhyama sáhas* (the middle degree of 500 panas) and of towns and countries with the *prathama sáhas* (the first degree of 250 panas) (ii 16-1 8) A person not a Bráhman giving pain to a Bráhman should lose the member by which he has offended him threatening a Bráhman with an upraised weapon he should suffer the *prathama sáhasa* and merely touching a weapon in the thought of using it against a Bráhman he should suffer the half of this punishment (ii 17 4) A man committing adultery in his own caste is to be punished according to the highest scale with a person lower than his own caste according to the middle class and with a person higher in caste than himself with death while the woman is to be deprived of her ears and nose Persons carrying off girls of higher caste than their own are to be punished with death A person of high caste having intercourse with a low caste woman desiring it is guiltless but having intercourse with such a person not desiring it he is blame-worthy (ii 22 4-6) A person of caste having intercourse with an *antyaja* woman is to be stamped with a mark, or abandoned in disgrace A Shúdra having intercourse with an *antyaja* woman becomes an *antyaja* An *antyaja* having intercourse with an Aryan woman is to be put to death (ii 22 12) Any person defiling a Bráhman by an article forbidden to be ate is to be punished with the highest fine thus defiling a Kshatriya, with the middle fine thus defiling a Vaishya with the low fine, and thus defiling a Shúdra with the half of the low fine (ii 23 2) A Shudra assuming the marks of a Bráhman should be fined eight hundred panas In this legislation, there is only a general

agreement with that of the other Smritis. For much of Vijñaneshvara's Commentary on Yājnavalkya there is no foundation in the text. The annotator as he proceeds, draws copiously on other authorities.

A child dying before the completion of its second year is to be buried and not burned (iii 1 1). The ceremonies needful on burning the dead are not to be repeated in the case of Brahmacharis and the degraded or in the case of heretics the unprotected fratricides, sensualists, drunkards, or suicides (ib 5 6). The great source of comfort held out to the bereaved is the fact that death is the resolution of the body into the five elements (9). Persons who may have carried the dead to be burned should not be touched for a day (16). Parents are ceremonially unclean for three or for ten days after the death of a child not older than two years (18)*. A Kshatriya is impure for twelve days a Vaishya for fifteen and a Shudra for thirty (while a Brahman is impure only for ten days) on occasion of the death of an adult relative (22). No Shudra should attend the burning of a Dvija and no Dvija that of a Shudra. A king does not become impure by the death of his relations and no impurity arises from those who die in defence of cows and Brahmins (27).

In times of distress, a Brahman may follow the Dharma of a Kshatriya or of a Vaishya (iii 2 1) abstaining, however, from selling forbidden articles (2 4).

The origin of the four castes is stated according to the orthodox view (iii 4 71).

Atonements for various offences are prescribed as in Manu (iii 6). In the case of Mahapatakas a Shudra has not the privilege of *jāpa* (i.e. peating mantas) and some other ceremonial observances of the higher castes but by using the other means prescribed for twelve years he may make an atonement for his offences under this heading (iii 7 1).

A thousand oven or cows are to be given for the homicide of a Kshatriya or a Vrata for the slaughter of a Brahman observed for three years; † a hundred cows for that of a Vaishya or a Vrata for

* The difference about the time of impurity in this instance is attributed to the different teachings of the authors of the Smritis. Manu mentions ten days for its continuance.

† In the case of the inadvertent slaughter of a Brahman the penitential Vrata (begging with a skull in hand) has to last for twelve years. (iii 6 3).

one year, ten cows for that of a Shúdra, or a Vrata (a voluntarily imposed penance) of six months (iii 8 2 3)

For the slaughter of a bad wife of a Brahman a leather skin for drawing water has to be given for that of a Kshatriya a bow, for that of a Vaishya, a goat, for that of a Shúdra a ram (iii 8 4) and for the slaughter of a good woman what is given for the slaughter of a Shudra. (5)

The benefits of hearing or repeating the Smriti of Yájnivalkya are said at the close of the treatise to be great indeed. It makes a Brahman venerable, a Kshatriya victorious and a Vushya rich and prosperous. The poor Shudra has to be satisfied with the information he may get of it from the Dvijas, according to his exigencies as they may occur.

In the *Pañchavaka Smriti*, the general contents of which I have already noticed * no regular arrangement is observed. The work is reckoned a great authority in the Kali Yuga, and it is evidently more modern than some of the other law collections of its class. It gives the following list of Smritis at its commencement —those of Manu Garga, Gautama Vasishtha Kashyapa Gopala, † Ati Vishnu, Sanvarita Daksha, Angus Shatitap, Harita Yajnavalkya A pastamba, Shankha and Likhita, Katyayana Pracheta, and Shrutiराja (Parashara?) Manu, it is added prevailed as an authority in the three first Yugas, while the A hāra of the three Yugas is not for the present Kali Yuga. Tapa was the highest duty in the Krita Yuga, knowledge, in the Treta and sacrifice in the Dvapara, while the giving of largesses is the highest duty in the Kali. The Dharma (religious law) of Manu was for the Krita

* At p 357

† In the copy referred to by Dr Stenzler (Ind Stud 1 232 the name of Ushanas here occurs for that of Gopala)

that of Gautama for the Treta, that of Shankha and Likhita for the Dvapara, and that of Parashara is for the Kali. The party guilty of a fault infected a country in the Krita Yuga in the Treta a village, in the Dvapara, his family, and in the Kali, himself. A person became *patita* (fallen from caste) in the Krita, by conversation, in the Treta, by contact, and in the Dvapara, by eating (forbidden) food while in the Kali, by deeds. In the Krita largesses were taken to the house (of the party to be benefited by them) in the Treta, by calling him to receive them, and in the Dvapara, by simply relieving the asker, while in the Kali, they are to be bestowed only for service. In the Krita, the pranas (five vital airs) were in the elements (of the body), in the Treta, in the flesh, in the Dvapara, in the blood, while, in the Kali, they are in the food. The Dvijas are not to be blamed for the peculiarities of the respective Yugas. In the Krita, curses took immediate effect in the Treta after ten days in the Dvapara, after a month, while in the Kali Yuga, after one year.* Pure religion and truth in the Kali have only a fourth part of their proper dimensions. Life is shortened (in this Yuga) by eating forbidden things. Dhurma and tapa are practised only for ostentation. There will be much false speaking for the sake of wealth. Little milk will be yielded by cows? The earth will yield but little grain. Woman will bear only females. The intercourse of the sexes will be only for pleasure. Piaces (Bhupalas)

* Professor Monier Williams correctly says in his excellent Inaugural Lecture, that the curse of a Brahman is always supposed among the Hindus to take effect sooner or later.

will be subjected to Dasyus Shudras will have the Achara of Brahmans , and the Dvijas that of Shudras The high castes (ālyavarnas) will earn their livelihood like the lowest (antyajas) The Krita Yuga was for the Brahmans , the Treta for the Kshatriyas , the Dvapara for the Vaishyas , and the Kali is for the Shudras Women of the lower castes will not be married with the higher according to the law which permitted the Dvijas to add to the wife of their own class one from each of the lower of the four Varnas Duty and sin will be commingled The merit which was of a million degrees of fruit in the Krita was of a hundred thousand in the Treta , of ten thousand in the Dvapara and will be of a hundred in the Kali (i 1-13 39) Specific legislation follows this general account of the modifications caused by the Yugas

The Dvijas should live where the black antelope moves between the Himavat and the Vindhya where the ocean going rivers flow where the great tirthas are found and where the Rishis dwell This is the land of purity but Shudras may live where they are inclined The country is bad where things not to be drunk are drunk not to be eaten are eaten and where unlawful connexions are formed (i 1 40 45)

A Brahman may give food to a Kshatriya a Vaishya or a Shudra visiting him at the time of a meal (i 6 12 13)

The general duties of the four Varnas are laid down as in Manu and the other Smritis It is declared however to be a sin even on the part of a Shudra, to sell spirits or flesh (i 7 1 14)

The water thrown (for consecration) on the horn of a cow is sixteen times better than that of all the tirthas of the rivers and oceans of the earth (i 8 28)

If a Dvija eat food on the last day of the moon (chandralakshaya vulgo amavasya) he will lose his merit for the month (i 8 37)

The achāra of families and countries is strongly inculcated on all classes of people as their supreme duty (i 9 200)

A Shudra is in the matter of *dāna* to be reckoned like a fool to whom nothing is to be given (1 9 217)

A Dvija eating of the food of a person not on the right road or of a mean person becomes instantly like a Shudra and after death he becomes a village pig (*mtashukara*) He who eats the food of a usurer or of a shepherd or of a person who has lost caste, goes to hell. A Dvija eating from the hands of a Shudra wife goes to the Raurava hell. (1 9 284)

Dvijas should not perform any religious services or sacrifices to get gifts from Shudras, on the penalty of becoming chandalas (1 9 293)

Animal food may be ate at Shriāddhas and sacrifices and in times of famine (1 9 517)

The following classes of Brāhmans are not to be employed at Shādhas — The blind of an eye, he who has broken a contract of marriage a diseased person a backbiter a usurer an ungrateful person a wrathful person a hater of friends, a person with bad nails or black teeth one wanting a limb or having a superfluous limb a eunuch one of bad report, one of bad speech one who teaches for hire a polluter of virgins a shopkeeper a seller of the Soma, one ruled by his wife one of illegitimate birth a forsaker of his parents a thief a *vrishakapati*, one ignorant of his own duties one who has a wife who has been before married a goatherd or keeper of buffaloe one accused of evil deeds a receiver of unlawful presents one who habitually lives on alms an astrologer or a messenger one who after eating on the burning ground on the eleventh day after the death has not taken the prescribed atonement etc etc (v 1 12)

Arrangements should be made to prevent Brāhmans at Shraddhas imitating the sound of Shudras swine, cocks (v 58)

A Brāhman begging regularly from low caste people, from Mlechhas, and distillers is pronounced a Baka or heron (v 53)

In the case of death or birth there is no impurity to the liberal to those who are addicted to making vows to poets to sacrificers to Agni hotris to the skilled in the six Angas (of the Vedas) to a king to a persons skilled in the shruti In the kali (yuga) there is no impurity except what may be removed by immediate ablation A Brahman attending the funeral of a Shudra is impure for three days (v 1 11 12)

If a Dvija be touched by a Chandala when making water he must

fast for six nights. If a Bráhman when eating be touched by another Bráhman, he must sip water and repeat the names of Vishnu. If a he be touched by a Kshatriya, he must fast till night. If by a Vaishya he must in addition to this fast swallow the five products of the cow. If by a Shúdra or a dog he must fast for a day and night. If by a washerman or other low castes he must perform the half of the prájápatya penance. If a Brahman whén eating be touched by a woman who is impure from a birth or restraint, or by a Mlénchha he must fast till sunset, and bathe in water kept for a day (vi. 48 57)

Shabarás Pulindas Kíkatas (aboriginal tribes), and Natas are like washermen. If a Vaishya go to a woman of the washerman caste, he has to take cow's urine and half ripe barley for six days or perform a double krichhra (vi. 312 314)

The rules for defilement in eating given by Paráshara are similar to those of Ángiras.

Food cooked in the house of a Shudra may be ate at a river when sprinkled with its water, accompanied by a repetition of the Gáyatri. Unboiled grain flesh, clarified butter honey oil and different kinds of fruits are impure while they are in the vessels of Mlenchhas, but pure, when taken from them * Milk, curds and clarified butter are pure when in the vessels of the Abhíras (viewed as cowherds). Market wares are pure while in the hands of the venders (vi. 315 324) The rules for the cleansing of vessels are like those of Ángiras and Manu.

A Brahman is not to accept gifts when in a state of impurity from births or deaths. When he receives gifts from a Brahman he has to acknowledge them in a loud voice from a Rájanya, in a gentle voice from a Vaishya, in a whisper and from a Shudra in his own mind. With a Brahman he has to commence by saying *Om* with a king he has to utter thanks without the *Om* with a Vaishya, to whisper thanks and with a Shudra to wish thanks, imagining himself to say, *svasti* (this is good) (vii. 82 88)

The whole administration of *Skáni* or propitiation, of the gods

* From the specification of the Mlenchhas or Barbarians in connexion with these products it seems to be warrantable to infer that the articles were sometimes imported into India at least from the neighbouring provinces.

elements, devils etc., and of houses, temples, tanks etc. is in the hands of the Bráhmans (ix *passim*)

The work concludes with a statement of the doctrines and practices connected with the Yoga

The best digest of Hindu law, all things considered, is probably to be found in the *Mayukha* of Kamalákara Bhaṭṭa, to which reference has already been made. Its twelve Rays, or divisions, are not always arranged in the same order. With a view to indicate the application of these divisions to such of the social customs of the Hindus as are more or less connected with Caste, I notice their contents, at greater or less length, as needful for the objects of this work.

(1) In the *Sanskara Mayukha*, after some general references to the authoritative literature of the Hindus, we have notices of eleven of the sixteen Sacraments, in connexion with which the peculiarities of the four *Aśramas* of the Bráhmans, and the general duties of Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, Shudras, and women are treated of. In this department of the work, however, there is nothing which we have not already noticed.

(2) In the *Shanti Mayukha*, which treats of the propitiation of the gods and other objects of fear, we have the following principal sections —

The worship (*puja*) of Ganapati

The ablution (*snápana*) of Vinavaka (Ganapati)

Sacrifice to the Planets

Characteristics (for good or evil) of the Planets

Characteristics of Ganapati and of the Lokapalas (guardians of the Cardinal Points)

Directions for the Homas (burnt sacrifices) of 100,000, 1,000,000 or 100,000,000 *dhutis* or oblation

The Puja of Houses

The Púja of the Arches of Gateways

The Púja of objects resembling the Deities, as of Nandi Garuda etc

The Propitiation of the Grahayogas (conjunctions of the Planets)

The Propitiation of the Planets in their individuality

The Propitiation of Ráhu and Kétu (the ascending and descending Nodes) but viewed as devils seizing the sun and moon and causing their eclipse

The Arka Viváha the third marriage of a Bráhman, made first to the Asclepias gigantea, and afterwards to the bride *

The Shánti of a woman's courses

The Shánti of the birth of a calf

The Shanti of new teeth

The Shanti of a birth occurring on the fourteenth day of the decrease of the moon.

The Shanti of the full-moon and of the last day of the moon.

The Shánti of a birth occurring on the day of the new moon

The Shánti of the Nakshatras (Lunar Mansions)

The Shánti of a birth occurring during an eclipse

The Shánti of the Viśha Ghatiká (the Poisonous or unlucky Ghatiká of the thirty ghatikás in a day and night)

The Shánti of the Gandanta-Yoga (an unlucky conjunction of the Nakshatras)

The Shánti of disgusting occurrences

The Shánti of the entrance of the sun into particular signs of the zodiac

The Shánti of falling into fevers, etc.

The Shánti of days specified in the Su ras of A'shvalayana

The Shanti of eclipses

The Shánti of injuries to receptacles of water and fire

The Shanti of the falling of great walls

The Shánti of disease in trees

The Shanti of the falling of lizards

The Shánti of village and wild animals, as of the dove, crow, horse, and elephant

(3) The contents of the *Vyavahára Mayukha* are

* Has this custom originated from the "shame of third marriages prevalent among the older Hindus?

so similar to the chapter on the same subject of the *Mitákhshára* of Yájnavalkya, to which we have already referred, and bear so little on caste observances, that we have little to notice connected with them.

When enjoining the preservation of the customs and laws of country caste and family (for the content of the people), it mentions that the *Dvijas* of the South take the daughter of a mother's brother in marriage that those of the Middle country act as artizans and eat kine that those of the East eat fish and have wives who are prostitutes and that those of the North drink intoxicating liquors, and approach their women when they should not be touched and it holds that they are not deserving of punishment on these accounts *

The evidence of parties connected with particular *Vargas* (classes) is to be taken in cases in which these *Vargas* are concerned. The evidence of foreigners and women is to be taken, too, in their special affairs. The evidence of a person fallen from caste is not to be taken †

Outcasted persons have no share in inheritance ‡

Caste-communion, it is maintained according to injunctions of the *Smritis* already noticed, is not to be held with a person who has passed the sea in a ship, even though he may have performed penance for it, and therefore connexion with such a person in this *Yuga* is reprehensible

Nárađa is quoted as saying that a woman left to her own will (*svárimi*) who is not a Brahmani, may have connexion with a man of higher caste than herself, though not of a lower, though the man himself is reprehensible §. Yáma is quoted as teaching that a Brahmani having connexion with a Shudra, is to be devoured by dogs, and having connexion with a Kshatriya or a Vaishya is merely to have her head shaved and to be carried round on an ass ||

A creditable translation of the *Vyavahara Mayókha* was published by Mr Borrodaile of the Bombay Civil

* *Vyavahara Mayókha*, 1. 113

† 1. M. ii. 3. 6 7

‡ 1. M. iv. 11 3. This law of inheritance is now disavowed under the British Government

§ 1. M. iv. 29 11

|| 1. M. iv. 19 1-

Service in 1827 The work, too, was translated into Māthī by Raghunāth Shīstri Dātē

(4) In the *Priyaschutta Mayukha*, after general statements on the nature and objects of atonements and penances, prescriptions are made for sins committed in a former birth, (indicated by diseases, ailments, etc.), directions are given for ablutions by sand and by water, the specific acts of general penances are mentioned, and the distinctions of offences are enumerated. Penances are prescribed for a party falsely accused of offences, for a man cut short in his days, for drunkenness, for eating what is forbidden, for eating flesh, for taking food with a person engaged with a sacrament, for eating food injured by keeping, for theft of gold, for intercourse with low caste women, for adultery, for intercourse with beasts, for gambling, for familiarity with parties guilty of offences, for touching the leavings of meals, for minor sins, for sacrificing for the unworthy, for abusing virgins, for abandoning the household fire, and for miscellaneous faults.

(5) In the *Shiāddha Mayukha* the general doctrine and practice of Shiāddhas is treated of. But this subject, as far as caste is concerned, has been already exhausted in the preceding pages.

(6) The *Sumaya Mayukha*, which treats of the times and seasons of religious services, and the duties of days and months, does not bear upon Caste, though it strikingly illustrates the formality and bondage in which the Hindu worshipper is constantly kept. The *Manu Sanhitā*, it tells us, prevails in the Krita Yuga, the Gautama, in the Tīrta, the Shankha and Likhita

in the Dvapara, and the Parashara in the Kali. The following laws, formerly current, it also tells us, have been repealed in the Kali Yuga

The law permitting the raising up of issue upon the widow of a deceased brother

The law allowing a girl mentally intended to be given to a particular husband to marry another husband should he die

The law allowing Brahman to have four wife (one of each of the primitive castes), Kshatriyas to have three and Vaishyas to have two

The law allowing the killing of Brahmins in the act of attempting murder

The law allowing Dravids who may have passed over the sea to be received into caste on then performing penance

The law allowing the performance of *Satrullsha* (sacrificing) for all classes of men (not lower than Shudras)

The law allowing the carrying of a water pot (the emblem of entering into the *Banyashrama*)

The law allowing *Mahaprasthunagamana* (walking on pilgrimage in the direction of the Himalaya, till the pilgrim be carried off to heaven)

The slaughter of a bull for sacrifice

The drinking of spirits, even at the *Sautrmani* (the sacrifice to Indra)

The law allowing entrance into the *Vanopasthashrama*.

The law forbidding the capital punishment of Brahmins deliberately committing a *Mahapitaka*.

The law requiring the infliction of stonements for familiarity (*sansargya*) with sinners

The law requiring penances for sins committed in secret, with the exception of theft

The law allowing the use of flesh in *Shraddhas*

The law permitting filiation by other ways than by birth or adoption

The law requiring the abandonment of a wife for common sins (smaller than adultery)

The law requiring one to give up his own life in the protection of cows and Brahmins

The law allowing the sale of the Soma juice

The law requiring the killing (by officiating Bráhmans) of animals in sacrifice (the deed being now done by Shúdras)

The law allowing a householding Bráhman, on a long pilgrimage, in difficulties, to eat from a Dasa, Gopála, Kulamitra, Ardhasíri

The law allowing Bráhmans to obtain a livelihood in times of difficulty by doing the work of Kshtriyas Vaishyas and Shúdras

The law allowing a Sányásí to beg and receive Dakshina from all castes, to stay ten days anywhere as a guest, and to lodge wherever he might be found at sunset

The law forbidding the wandering of Bráhmans

The law forbidding a Bráhman to blow into fire with his mouth

The law interdicting the giving of evidence in cases between a father and a son

The law requiring the Brahmacharya A'shráma to last for forty-eight years (from the binding of the sacred string, being twelve years for the study of each Véda)

The law allowing the marriage of maternal cousins

The law allowing the killing of cows

The law allowing the sacrifice of men and horses

The law allowing the re-marriage of females

The gift of a larger share (in inheritance) to the eldest son

The law sanctioning the performance of the Rájasúya

The law ordering the practice of ordeal (which some nevertheless think advantageous)

These thirty four instances of repeal very decidedly prove the mutability of the Hindu laws, a fact which should not be overlooked by native reformers *. In qualification of the repeal of the laws respecting Agnihotra and Sanyásá, it is added that they may be practised while the distinctions of Caste and the Védas are acknowledged

(7) In the *Niti Mayákha* the duties of kings are treated of much as in the Law book ascribed to Manu

* The list here given is considerably larger than that found in the General Note appended to Sir William Jones's translation of Manu

(8) The *Pratishthā Mayukha* treating of the consecration of temples, houses, fortifications, images, etc., deals with religious and not caste observances

(9) The *Utsarga Mayukha* treats of celebrations connected with shrines, idols, tanks, wells, etc.

(10) The *A'chāra Mayukha* treats of the practical religion of life, and is very extensive and comprehensive. Much of it is devoted to caste matters, but to caste matters more as they affect individuals than as they affect social intercommunion. The following are the principal subjects of which it treats, drawing its materials principally from the *Smṛitis* and the *Purānas* —

How the Dvija should get awake at the Brahma Muhurtta (the last Muhurtta of the night)

How the natural evacuations should be effected how the parties seeking relief should turn to the north during the day and to the south during the night how silence should be observed, and solitude sought and how cleansings should be effected by water or earth, etc.

How *achamana* (the sipping of water and spitting it out again) should be performed—on relieving nature on dining on touching the leavings of food, on the passing of wind, on being touched by cats, and other impure animals on uttering falsehood on commencing any religious work on seeing a crow, a washerman a musician (*véna*) a fisherman, or a dancer on speaking with a chandala or *mléchha*, on speaking with a woman or *Shúdra*, before washing the hands after dinner on shedding tears or blood on touching a place where cows Brahmans or women are killed on dreaming on sneezing or spitting, on seeing persons defiling themselves, on falling before a guru on eating leaf and betelnut on putting on new clothes and on touching a woman during her *sútika* (of ten days after a birth) The number of *achamanas* needed on particular occasions is also stated

How and when, and with what kind of wood the rinsing of the teeth is to be performed, and not performed The stick of a Brahman

ought to be of twelve finger breadths of a Shúdra, Vaishya, and Kshatriya, of six finger breadths, and of a woman of four finger breadths. Particular woods used are lucky, and others unlucky.

How the *pavitra*, or ring of Kusha grass to be worn on the fourth finger, is to be worn at certain religious and other services. A Brahman should use four blades of grass, a Kshatriya, three, and a Vaishya, two.

How ablutions should be performed. They are classed into the necessary, the voluntary the occasional, those needful for cleanliness and the secondary. The first season for them is the morning. The gradation of merit of waters rises as follows —still waters, flowing waters, the ocean, tirthas the Ganges. The face should be turned to the east in bathing. After ablution a Brahman should clothe himself in white vestments, a Kshatriya in red, a Vaishya in yellow, and a Shudra in blue. The Dvijas should use mantras in bathing, but Shúdras should not use them. Ablution should follow the touch of a Chándála, a woman in her courses an out caste, a Sutika a corpse or the touch of a person defiled by touching any of these objects, a Dévalaka (dresser of images) when out of a temple a Budhust a Páshapata, a follower of Kapila (according to some testimonies), an ill behaved Dvija any person who should not be touched, one shedding tears, and a newly shaved person.

How the *tilaka*,* or religious mark, is to be applied to the body. The clay to be preferably used is to be that of the top of a mount, of the bank of a river of the Brahmakshetra, of the coast, of the sea of an anthill, of the roots of the Tulasi plant, and of Gopichandana from Dvaravati (Dvaraka). It is to be daily applied for the destruction of sin. A black tilaka is favourable to peacefulness a red one to bringing parties into one's power and a yellow one, to wealth. The Vaishnavas (sectarial followers of Vishnu) ought to have a white tilaka. The application of the tilaka by the thumb produces fatness by the middle finger water or heaven by the next finger, food, and by the fore finger liberation (from births). According to the Vaishnavas, there are twelve places for applying unguents,—the forehead, the belly, the region of the heart, the neck, the two sides of the belly the middle arms, the tips of the ears, the elbows. When applying them to the forehead

* The root of this word is *til* to be unctuous.

(during the brightening half of the moon) the name Késhava is to be pronounced, when to the belly Narayana when to the heart, Madhava when to the throat Govinda when to the sides, Vishnu and Vámana, when to the arms Madhusudana when to the ears, Trívika-rama when to the elbows Shridhara and Hrishikésha when to the back, Padmanabha or Damodara and when to the cerebral region (not mentioned above) Vasudeva. When the unguents are applied during the darkening half of the moon the preceding names are to be taken in the reverse order. The forms of the unguents should be as follows — on the forehead that of an upper arm on the ear that of a rod on the breast, that of a lotus on the belly that of a flame on the arm, that of the leaf of a bambu, on the back that of the rose-apple. The best tilaka, from the tip of the nose to the hair, is of ten finger breadths, that of middle worth of nine and the lowest in value, of four, three, or two finger breadths. Without attention to these matters, Karmava (the fruit of works) is lost. Figures of the conch-shell and chakra (sacred discus) should be applied to the body of the Vaishnava. The leaves of the tulasi should also be ate by him. These injunctions are said to be according to the Brahmá Purána. [According to A'shvalayana here also referred to sectarial marks should not be used during Védic ceremonies.] According to the Brahmánda Purána the *Urdhva-pundra* (the upper marks of Shiva) are to be made by clay, sandalwood ashes and water — after bathing by clay, after the homa by ashes after the worship of the gods, by sandalwood on doing any ceremony connected with water by water. If the urgent be by clay its lines are not to be horizontal but vertical if by ashes they are not to be vertical but horizontal. They are to be used according to Kátyayana, at shraddhas sacrifices japas homas the oblation to the Vishvedevas and the worship of the gods (suras). The places for applying ashes are the forehead the breast, the navel the throat, the shoulder and upper arm, the back and the head. The Shivamanttra or Gáyatrí of the Atharváeda is to be used when the application is made. A householder should apply the ashes with water and the Vanaprastha and Sanyasi should apply them without water. The horizontal marks of a Brahman should be six finger breadths long, of a Kshatriya, four, of a Vaishya, two and of a Shudra and others below him, of one. If the (Shaiva) Brahman make not the *tr-pundras*

(the tertiary of lines) he becomes *patita* (fallen). Those who mark the parties wearing these marks are the offspring of Shudras. From these notices it is apparent that the tilaka marks are chiefly of a sectarian character.

How and where the ceremonies of *Sandhya* at morn, noon, and evening are to be performed.

How the *Homa* is to be performed, how charity is to be dispensed, how the five great *Yajnas* are to be managed, how libations are to be poured out to ancestors to Bhishma, to Yama and to the gods.

How *Puja* (material worship) is to be given to the gods and what flowers and leaves are acceptable or unacceptable to various gods and what are the suitable objects and places for *pujā*. In connexion with this matter it is said that a Brāhman ought to worship Vishnu as Vaśudeva, a prince, as Sankarshana and a Vaishya as Piādyumna and a Shudra, as Aniruddha. A Bṛahman ought to have four images a Kshatriya, three a Vaishya, two and a Shudra, one. The worship of the Shaligrams ought to be confined to Brahmans. A Shudra pronouncing the sacred syllable Om, worshipping the Shaligrāma or going to the wife of a Brāhman becomes a Chandala. A Brāhman whether pure or impure ought according to the Linga Purana, to be the agent in worshipping the Shaligrāma. If a Shudra or a woman touch it its touch will prove like that of a thunderbolt. Women, noninitiated Brahmans, and Shudras have no right to touch the emblems of Vishnu or Shiva.

How *pujā* is to be performed. A Brāhman teaching a Shudra to pronounce the sacred Om or *stahā*, becomes a Shudra and the Shudra goes to hell.

How the worship of clay images (of the linga, etc) should be performed.

How at the worship of gurus, gifts should be given to them.

How the *homa* of the Vishvedevas is to be performed.

How the five mahayajnas are to be performed.

How *Bhojanas* (feedings) are to be effected. The *mandala* (enclosure) formed by water on the ground for the vessel of a Brāhman, ought to be quadrangular of a Kshatriya, triangular of a Vaishya, circular and of a Shudra, semicircular. The vessels used ought to be of gold, silver, copper bell metal, or of the leaves of the lotus or the palash.

(Butea frondosa) However, a Prahmachari *latis* or widow should not dine either from bell metal or the palash leaf. Nothing is to be ate of animals with five toes. Numerous and minute rules are to be observed in the further proceedings. The three first classes must neither eat nor drink with the left hand. Should a Dvija violate this rule his offence will be like that of drinking ardent spirits. A Shudra however may drink water with that dishonoured organ of the body. Nothing is to be taken which has fallen from the mouth. Animal food is to be avoided. A Dvija when eating should not listen to a Chandala, an outcaste, or a woman in her courses. The times of eating are midday and the evening. Other injunctions, which we have already extracted from the Law books are to be observed.

How the evening is to be spent after lamplighting, how beds are to be arranged and how *striyatra* is to be performed, except on forbidden days.

What places for sleeping are forbidden —such as empty houses, graveyards, the place where four roads meet, places under trees, the shrines of Mahadeva and Devi, places frequented by Nagas and Yakshas, mounds of sand or earth and Darbha grass when the Diksha is being performed. Sleep is to be taken during the second and third of the four praharas of the night.

How dreams are to be interpreted and their bad omens averted.

(11) In the *Dana Mayukha*, the duty and privilege of giving gifts, especially to Brahmans, are amply and keenly treated of. It well proves the fact, which we have already noticed, that the imparting of gifts to the priestly class is quite a science in the institutions of caste*. The following is a general view of its contents —

What *dana* (donum) is.

Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas have the right of giving dana according to the Vedas, Shudras and women according to the Puranas. Gifts to Shudras should be confined to food and clothing. The merit of giving to Shudras is of the ratio of one to Vaishyas, of two to Kshatriyas, of three, and to Brahmans, of nine.

* See before p. 27

Of acquisitions made, one-third should be reserved for a livelihood and two thirds for dāna according to the work called Bhūadharma. Of cows every tenth should be given according to the Bharati. Gold, silver or copper given to a Yati (Sanyasi) consigns both the giver and receiver to hell. No person who has offspring should part with all his property or with his wife, a dependent what is held in loan or pawn who belongs to other members of a family as well as oneself a pledge, what is included in *stridhana*, and a son.

Certain times are appropriate for gifts, such as Sundays, the day of the sun entering into a new sign of the zodiac, eclipses, festivals, etc.

Gifts at holy places are peculiarly meritorious, yet those receiving them there (from a spirit of covetousness) have to perform penance.

Both givers and receivers have to perform numerous ceremonies. Gifts from Brahmans are to be acknowledged in a loud voice from Kshatriyas in a gentle voice from Vaishyas in a whisper and from Shudras in a silent acknowledgment.

Methods of measuring and weighing in dana in the cases of money, gram land, etc. are prescribed.

Mandapas, or tabernacles when erected by the givers of largesses are to be of a particular form and of particular woods. Directions are given for the construction of the sacrificial *kundas*, or holes which may be made in these *Mandapas* some of them being of the form of the vulva, triangular, quadrangular, sexangular, lotus formed etc. etc. the shapes being different according to the castes, a Brahmans being quadrangular a Kshatriya's, circular, a Vaishya's semi circular and a Shudra's triangular. The depth of the *kundas* is also prescribed.

The planets the *Lokapalas*, or guardians of the eight directions and Vinayaka (Ganapata) and other gods are to be invoked. Holy mantras are to be recited. *Pujā* to houses and doors is to be performed. The holy fire is to be kindled. Flowers are to be selected fitted to please individual gods. Particular mantras are to be repeated those of the Rig Vedi and Yajur Vedi, and Sama-Vedi Brahmans being different.

When all things are ready, the prince proceeds to bestow his largesses,

on the Brāhmans The Sixteen Great Gifts (*Shodasha Mahādānām*) according to the Matsya Purana are the following* —

The *Tulapuushadāna* the weight of a man or woman in any of the precious metals ghi, etc the *Huanyagarbhadāna* a golden foetus the *Brahmandadāna* the gift of gold, in the form of the mundane egg the *Kulpatarudāra*, the gift of a golden tree like that which satisfies all human desires the *Gosahasradāna* the gift of a thousand cows the *Huanyahānadhenuadāna* the gift of a golden cow and calf like the cow which yields what may be desired the *Hirnayashvadāna* the gift of a golden horse, the *Hiranyashvarathalana* the gift of a golden chariot with (golden) horses the *Hemahastidāna*, the gift of a golden elephant the *Panchalangaladāna* the gift of five plows of wood, an i of gold with the bullocks added, the *Dhāradāna* the gift of gold in the form of the earth, a mountain etc the *Vishvachakradāna*, the gift of a golden wheel or discus the *Kalpalatālōna* the gift of ten golden creeping plants with flowers the *Saptasagādāna* the gift of seven large oceanic golden vessels of a cubit in diameter and depth the *Ratnadhenuadāna*, the gift of a cow formed of set jewels the *Mahabhu taghatadāna* the gift of a large golden vessel, of a hundred finger breadths filled with milk or clarified butter Minute rules are laid down about the times and places at which and the method by which these gifts so acceptable to the Brāhmans and meritorious before the gods, are to be given

Besides these Sixteen Great-Danas there are also the Ten Great Danas of the Kurmma Purana, the *Dashamahādāndār* They are as follows —gold, a horse, tila a nāga (cobra serpent in gold), a slave girl, a chariot land, a house, a daughter, and a tawny-coloured cow

Other *Danas* (with notices of some of the preceding) are treated of according to various authorities —as those of a white horse of a copper vesselful of sesamum seeds of a waterpot of a student filled with these seeds of an elephant of a chariot, of land of a house or sheep of a shelter, of ten cows (of molasses, ghrita water milk curds honey sugarcane juice sugar cotton salt, and gold), of a golden horned cow of a cow and a calf when the birth is taking place, (which

* The Shodasha Mahādānas are with a few variations from the Matsya treated of in the Linga and other Puranas. See Linga Purana, second part, pp. 5 & 6. Puna edit on

will secure a safe passage across the infernal river *Vaitarani*) of a female buffalo of a goat, of odoriferous substances (from the mountain, *Gandhamádana*, *Vipula*, and *Supárshva*) of a *bhūbhanidhi*, an ocean of happiness of an *anandanidhi*, (an ocean of joy a vessel of the *ficus glomerata* with a silver cover and filled with gold) of images of the gods and ten *Avataras*, of the twelve *Adityas* of the Moon and Sun, of the nine planets of golden images of the donor and of *Kuvera* (the god of riches) of golden *Sháhigramas* and of the golden image of *Kalapurusha Yama* (the god of death)

Respecting *Kamyadana* or optional or discretionary gifts, much is said The *Adilapuru hadana* and *Kalachakrulana*, made preparative to death, may be of an image with golden eyes, or of a silver discus silver teeth, etc. They are said to remove the fear of death and pain, to secure the full complement of life and to merit heaven Similar in their objects and effects, are the *Yamudanas* and *Puskaradanas* The *Krishnayinadana*, the gift of the skin of a black antelope with accompaniments destroys the sin of seven births The *Shayadana* or gift of a bed confers beauty reaches a ten thousand years lease of heaven and other benefits The *Vustradana* or gift of clothes, confers when the dresses are of cotton entrance into *Svarga* when they are of wool entrance into the abode of the *Rishis* when they are of the *kuhi* grass or of silk, entrance into the abode of the *Vasus* The *Ayanadana* the gift of a seat keeps disease away and gives a taste of heaven The *Bhayanadana*, the gift of vessels when they are of gold procures the heaven of Indra when of silver the abode of the *Gandharvas* when of copper the abode of the *Yakshas* and *Rakshasas* when of wood, iron, etc, lesser benefits The *Sthalulana* the gift of a tray gives fatness and pleasure The *Pakadana* the gift of cooked food is favourable to the acquisition of power The *Vidyadana*, or gift of learning, consists principally in presents of books Those enumerated are the Eighteen *Puranas* (according to the *Varsha*)—in their adjective names—as follows —The *Brahma*, *Padma*, *Vaishnava*, *Shiva*, *Bhingavata*, *Naradiya*, *Maikandoya*, *Agneya*, *Bhavishya* *Brahma-Vaivartta* *Iaanga*, *Varsha*, *Skanda* *Vaumana* *Kaurnamia* *Mutsya* *Gruda* and the *Brahmanda* the *Upapurimas* the *Ramayana* *Bharata* and books of the *Tarkashastra* (logic) *Chanda*, *Alankar* of the *Veda* *Mimamsa* and *Dharmashastra* Power on earth, and glory in heaven

are the consequences of liberality in this form *Chatropanadána*, the gift of umbrellas and shoes will give freedom from scorching heat and from pain in walking in the other world *Annadána*, the gift of grain (to serve a year) secure freedom from disease and pain *Tambuladána*, the gift of leaf and betelnut, secures luck *Gandhadravyadána*, the gift of odoriferous substances keeps the body in health *Ratnadána*, the gift of gems keeps off pain, sin, and secures freedom (from births) at death *Vidrumadána*, the gift of coral has similar effects *Udakadána* the gift of water according to many authorities, is very meritorious, giving happiness in heaven for a hundred yugas etc *Dharmmaghatadána* the gift of a supply of vessels full of water, is like the gift of a thousand cows, and secures heaven *Yadnonavítadána* the gift of the sacred string * has the merit of the *Agnishtoma* *Ashtidána* the gift of a staff to one needing it, keeps off disease and a beating from Yama *Agnishtoladána*, the gift of fuel secures the Brahmaloka. The *Dipadána*, the gift of a lamp, improves the eyes and gives prosperity both in this life and that which is to come *Abhyadána* the gift of shelter to the fearful, fulfils human desires *Maseshudána* gifts fit for the twelve months keep the body sound prevent entrance into Yamaloka, and effect direct entrance into Svarga. *Ashvathasévana*, the care of the holy fig tree, destroys disease *Pánthopachára* feeding travellers, destroys sin, and aids in acquiring wealth *Goparacharya*, the service of cows, procures felicity in Goloka (the heaven of Krishna) *Nandadvyadána* distributing of money in various forms, has many wonderful effects in both worlds

Notwithstanding the precise nature of the injunctions of the books, on the kinds, seasons, and modes of gifts, there is in modern times much that is arbitrary in the disposal of gifts. The great object of the legislation respecting them is the encouragement of liberality to the Bráhmans by all imaginable ingenious devices, and exorbitant promises both for this life and that which is to come. Though the formalities prescribed are often

* Including the expense of its assumption.

neglected, they are sometimes attended to, even in dispensing largesses according to the highest scale Frequently the native princes of India are brought to notice as more or less satisfying the high demands of the parties who have the privilege of seeking alms The calls made at marriages by Bráhmans, Bhaṭs, and Chárans (or family bards) in the case of the Rajputs, were often viewed as inducements to infanticide Most enormous sums are given away in the hope of getting sons and heirs, throughout the country "About the year 1794, Chanaghosha, a Kayastha of Midnápuri," says Mr Ward, "gave to the Bráhmans an artificial mountain of gold A little before this Gopala Kṛishna, a Vaidya of Rájánagar, presented to the Bráhmans three mountains, one of gold, one of rice, and another of the seeds of sesamum " These mountains, he adds, need not be very large , but it is necessary that figures of trees, deer, etc , should be seen on them Sometimes effects not recognized by the Smritis, are alleged to follow munificent gifts "Shudras," it is asserted, "cannot pass from a lower grade to a higher , but the Rájas of Liavankui are always manufactured into Bráhmans on ascending the māsnad, an important part in this transmigration being sometimes played by a golden cow, at the mouth of which the Raja enters a Shudra, and having crawled along its interior arrangements, emerges under the animal's tail as one of the twice born otherwise he bathes in a golden lotus The gold figures are subsequently divided amongst the officiating Bráhmans

* Ward's View of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindus Vol III p 292

During the last century, two Firankur Brahmans visited England, thereby, of course, losing their caste which was only restored by their passing the sacred Yoni made of the finest gold, which afterwards, with many other valuable gifts, were presented to one of the temples.* The Raja of Mysore (Mysore), notwithstanding the embarrassed state of his finances, is said to have often given magnificent presents to Brahmans, as well as to the temples of the gods. Among others mentioned to me by parties acquainted with his country, are a golden mandap and a stile, with pearls and precious stones, to the chief Varanasi Swami, a thousand golden rings set with precious stones, to as many members of the priestly caste, the weight of his own body in silver (on his completing his sixtieth year), and liberal alms to learned men. Similar presents have been given in our own day by some of the Muthi and Rajput princes. Festivals of Brahmans are reckoned meritorious throughout the country. In expectation of them, and with a view to do justice to them, those of the old school sometimes fast the day preceding them, and eat so copiously that they need few additional supplies the day following.

(12) The *Shuddhi Mayukha* treats of the removal of ceremonial and other impurities. But I have extracted so much on this subject already, from Angira, Manu, Yajnavalkya, and Parashara,† that it is not necessary here again to attempt its exhibition.‡

* Dr. Land of the Parsees, p. 914. Compare with this Mr. Orbell's Oriental Memoirs vol. II (2nd edit.) pp. 233-40.

† See before pp. 360 et seqq.

‡ In the examination of the Mayukhas I have used my own manuscripts and those of Ganpatrao Ghalil Imamdar, of Wu-

By the *Smritis* the Caste system was brought to its full maturity, and stereotyped for ever, except in so far as it is expected to be influenced by what is held to be the lamentable and destructive progress of the Kaliyuga. In consequence of this circumstance, we need say very little, comparatively, respecting Caste as it appears in the later literature of the Hindus.

X—CASTE IN THE HARIVANSHA

The *Harivansha*, which is sometimes called a supplement to (*khila*), and sometimes a portion of, the *Mahabharata*, is generally considered as intermediate between the *Smritis* and the *Puranas* to which, nevertheless, it is sometimes made to refer. It treats, especially in its earlier portions after its introductory matter, of the glory of Hari, particularly in the form of Krishna. It contains many curious legends. It is scarcely necessary to say that it recognizes the caste system in its integrity, though it does not mention it anywhere at any considerable length.

Of Vena, the prince reputed to be so rebellious against the Brahmans, it is there said that he was laid hold of by the great Rishi who rubbed his left thigh. From this rubbing a diminutive and black man came forth, who being afraid, remained standing with joined hands. Atri (the Rishi) seeing him afraid, said to him, *Nishula* (set down). He became the establisher (*karita*) of the race of the *Nishadas*.*

The *Harivansha* recognizes *Sutas* and *Magadhas*, in their caste occupations of encumbrants and bards.

It says that *Pushadra*, originally a Kshatriya, became a Shudra for killing his guru's cow, and that two sons of *Nishugárishta*, originally *Varshyas* became *Brahmans*.† It also alleges, like *Manu*, that the *Shakas*, *Yavanas*, *Kambojas*, *Paradas*, *Pahlavas*, *Haihayas*, *Tulungsugas*,

* *Harivansha* I. c. 3^o, et seq.

† II. 1. vii. 1. 58 9

etc. lost their caste of Kshatriyas for rebelling against the descendant of Harischandra.* These traditions and others of a like character found in the Purāṇas, deal with the fact that position in Aryan society was not originally wholly dependent on birth.

To the various and contradictory accounts of the origin of Caste, the following is added — The renowned Sunahotra [a king of the Lunar race] was the son of Kshatravridha and had three very righteous sons, Kāsha, Shala and the mighty Ghritsamada. The son of Ghritsamada was Shunaka, from whence sprang the Shunakas Brahmins Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shūdras †. Shunaka is also spoken of in the Vishnu Purana ‡ as having ' originated the four castes. Perhaps this prince had some hand in framing laws for their distinct recognition as is onwards said to have been the case with King Bahi §. In the context of the passage now quoted, the Maitreyas are said to have assumed the part of the descendants of Bhrigu (the duties of the Brahmanhood) though they had the character of Kshatriyas (as warriors ?) ||. Children of [the Rishi Angiras] are also said to have been ' born in the family of Bhrigu Brahmins Kshatriyas and Vaishyas, three kinds of descen-

* H. V. xiv. See Muir's Texts: 45. et seq. Mr. Muir thus translates the passage in the Harivansha, to which I refer — Aurva having performed Sagara's natal, and other rites and taught him all the Vedas then provided him with a fiery mūṣala, such as even the gods could not withstand. By the power of this weapon and attended by an army incensed and fierce, Sagara speedily slew the Haihayas, as if they had been beasts and acquired great renown throughout the world. He then set himself to exterminate the Shakas, Yavanas Kāmbujas Pārasas and Pahlavas. But they when on the point of being slaughtered by Sagara, had recourse to the sage Vashishtha, and fell down before him. Vashishtha beholding them by a sign restrained Sagara giving them assurance of protection. Sagara after considering his own vow, and listening to what his teacher had to say destroyed their caste (dharma) and made them change their customs. He released the Shakas after causing the half of their heads to be shaven and the Yavanas and Kāmbujas after having had their heads entirely shaved. The Pārasas were made to wear long hair and the Pahlavas to wear beards. They were all excluded from the study of the Vedas, and from oblations by fire. The Shakas, Yavanas Kāmbujas, Pārasas Pahlavas, Kohsarpan Mahushas, Dārvas Cholis and Kērulas had all been Kshatriyas, but were deprived of their social and religious position by the great Sagara, according to the advice of Vashishtha. ¶

† H. V. xxix. v. 1018 20. Muir's Texts L 49

‡ V. P. iv. 8

§ H. V. xxxi. v. 1684.

|| xxiii. v. 1784 90

¶ Harivansha xiv vv. 118-83. Muir's Texts Vol. 1 p. 182.

dants in thousands * In a neighbouring passage Shudras are said to have also had the same descent †

As in the Ramayana it is said that in the reign of Ráma the Kshatriyas were subject to the Brahmans the Vaishyas to the Kshatriyas and the Shudras to the three other castes †

Even the wild *Shabarás* *Barbarás* and *Puhindas* are represented as praising *Arya* (the wife of Shiva) §

Of a woman performing the *Umaavrata* (the vrata of the goddess Umi wife of Shiva) it is said that she will give most magnificent presents to a pure Bráhman such as two suits of clothing a bed a conveyance a house grain slaves male and female jewels, a mountain of jewels elephants horses cows, etc etc ||

The Brahmans in other circumstances, are represented as receiving similar presents ¶

The reading of the *Mahábhárata* should, at its different stages, be accompanied with most liberal largesses **

Inattention to Bráhmanical institutions is represented as the grand cause of the progress of the evil *Kali Yuga* a most conspicuous sign of which is the usurpation by one caste of the duties of another, particularly as far as the four primitive castes are concerned †† A shrewd guess has been made at the probable issue of the tyrannical system of castes, but this guess is associated with great blunders as to the material depravation of India, of which no sign yet begins to appear

A mystical origin of the Brahmans, according to their sacrificial distribution, is thus spoken of (I quote the translation and interposed notes of Mr Murr subjoining a note respecting the text) — The Lord created the *Bráhma* who is the chief as well as the *idyátri* who chanting the *Yama Veda* from his mouth and *hátri* and *adhyaryu* from his arms [The text of the next verse seems to be corrupt but it appears to refer to four kinds of priest, the *bráhmaṇa*, *máṇḍa*, *prastotri*, the *máthartri* and the *pratishtátri*] He formed the *máthartri* and the *pots* from his belly, the *adhyupati* [query arch-

* II V x 1.91 7

† II V xxvii 2 1.34

II V xliii 284 8

§ II V lx 82 4

|| II V xxxviii 4 78a 8c

¶ II V cix 1.1 near the end

** II V cxlviii near the end

†† See II V alii 194 1F

nakā?] and the *neshtri* from his thighs the *agnidhṛa* and the sacrificial *brahmāṇya* from his hands, the *gravān* and the sacrificial *sunetṛi* from his arms. Thus this divine lord of the world created these sixteen excellent *rituks* the expounders of all sacrifice. Hence this Purusha called the Veda is composed of sacrifice, and all the Vēdas with the Vedāngas Upanishads and ceremonies are formed of his essence * This differs much from former notices of the priestly generation. There is no consistency in the accounts of the origin either of the Brāhmans or of the other castes.

Further proof of this we have in the Harivansha. "Vishnu sprung from Brahma exalted above the power of sense, and absorbed in devotion, becomes the patriarch Daksha, and creates numerous beings. The beautiful Brāhmans were formed from an unchangeable element (*al shara*) the Kshatriyas from a changeable substance (*kshara*) the Vaishyas from alteration (*vikara*) and the Shudras from a modification of smoke. When Vishnu was contemplating colors [or castes the word *vari* a having both significations] Brāhmans were fashioned with white red yellow and blue colours. Thence his creatures attained in the world the state of fourfold caste as Brāhmans Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras —being of one type but with different duties two footed very wonderful full of energy and acquainted with the means of success in all the works they had to perform. There are declared to be ceremonies prescribed by the Vēdas for the men of the three (highest) castes. By this union of Vishnu with Brahma [?] by wisdom and energy the divine son of the Prachetasas [Daksha] who was in fact Vishnu the great devotee, passed by means of that contemplation [or union] into the sphere of action [?]. Hence the Shudras sprung from vacuity are destitute of ceremonies and so are not entitled to the rites of initiation (*sanskara*) nor have

* H. V. adh. cc. v. 11358 et seq. (Muir's Texts L p. 36.) My manuscript of the original seems more correct than that of the Calcutta printed edition used by M. Muir. For *Adhyāpaka*, it has actually *Adhāpaka*, which confirms the conjectural emendation of Mr. Muir. For *Sunetṛi* it has *Uaneta* (the equivalent of *Uanetṛi*). The sixteen classes of priests are thus given in the manuscript commentary of Nilakantha Govinda, associated with my copy of the text —Brahmā, Udgātā, Hotī, Adhvaryu, Brahmanachhānsi, Prastotri, Maitravaruna, Pratiprasthātā, Pratibhartsī, Iotī, Achivalī, Neshta, Agnidhṛa, Subrahmāṇya, Grāvastota, and Lunetṛi.

they a knowledge of the Vedas. Just as, upon the friction of wood the cloud of smoke which issues from the fire and spreads around is of no service in the sacrificial rite so too the Shudras spread over the earth (are unserviceable) owing to their birth with all its circumstances [?] to their want of initiatory rites and the ceremonies ordained by the Vedas *

XI—CASTE IN THE PURANAS

We now proceed to the *Puranas* (or *Mahapuranas* as they are usually called), which according to the usage of speech are stated to be eighteen, the *Upapuranas*, or inferior works of the same class, amounting to the same number

The following Shloka, which is often quoted by the Pandits, is said to contain the names of the recognized Puranas —

ब्रह्मां अभोरुह विष्णु विष्व भागवत्सज्ज ततो नारद,
माकडेयमधार्मि दैवतमिति प्रोक्त भविष्योत्तरं
तस्मां ब्रह्मिववत् सज्जमुदितं स्कद वराह तथा
लेंग नामन मत्स्य कूम गरुद ब्रह्मांडमधारदश ॥

These in their order, in the nominal form, are the following—Brahmā, Ambhoruha (Padma or Lotus), Vishnu, Shiva, Bhāgavata, Nārada, Mārkandeya, Agni, Bhavishyottara, Brahma Vaivarta, Skanda, Varaha, Iṅga, Vamana, Matsya, Kurma, Gaiudā, Brahmanda. This list, with one or two differences in the order of the names, agrees with those contained in the Bhāgavata,† now a principal authority, especially in the west of India, and in the Vishnu and Linga Purāṇas ‡. In other

II v. ccxi. & 1181 & c. q. I have at present the exact translation of Mr. Macaulay's 1. p. 30.

† Bhāgavata, sk. viii. adh. 7

‡ Wilson's V. Purāṇa p. 284

authorities, as mentioned by Professor H. H. Wilson, there are a few variations. The list of the Kúrma omits the Agni, that of the Agni, the Shiva, for which it substitutes the Váyu, that of the Varáha the Garuda and the Brahmánda, for which it inserts the Narasimha. The Markandeya, with the Vishnu and Bhagavata, omits the Váyu. The Matsya, with the Agni, leaves out the Shiva.* Other variations are elsewhere apparent. In the Padma Purana, a list is given of twenty-one Puránas, including some elsewhere given as Upapuránas, viz., the Brahma, Padma, Vishnu, Vártanda, Vánda, Marlandeya, Agni, Kúrma, Váman, Garuda, Linga, Skanda, Matsya, Nrisimha, Kapila, Váraha, Brahma Várvatta, Shiva, Bhagavata, Bhavishvottara, Bhavishya. These differences, in a professedly divinely revealed canon, are rather puzzling. The Puranas mentioned in the different lists, however, are forthcoming. They are all posterior in their composition (whatever they may be in some of their legendary and speculative materials) to the breaking up of Hinduism into the different modern sects which now prevail throughout the country. Some of them are of a Vaishnava, and some of them of a Shaiva character, while some of them favour Brahma, or the worship of the Shaktis, or female principles †.

* Wilson's V. P. p. vii.

† It is said in the Uttralanda of the Padma that the Puranas as well as other works are divided into three classes, according to the qualities which prevail in them. Thus the Vishnu Vártanda Bhagavata, Garuda, Padma and Váraha Puranas are *Sattva* or pure, from the pre-eminence in them of the *Sattva* quality or that of goodness and purity. They are in fact *Janma* or Imitation. The Matsya Kúrma,

The following Shloka is said to embody the names of the *Upaniṣadas*

गणेश नारदीयच नारसिंहच काषेल
नारदिकेयच वास्त्व दौर्वाससमयाविक
कालिकेयच मारीच वैश्वनस भागव
भाष्मेश्वरच सौरचै पाराश्रयच मौद्रुल
सनकुमारकचैव कौमारच प्रजापते
भष्टादश पुराणानि कार्थितानि समाप्तत ॥

The names here given are in the nominal form as follows —the Ganesha, Nārada, Nārashīha, Kapila, Nandi,

Iṅga, Śhiva Śkanda and Agni Puranas are *Tamasa* or Puranas of darkness from the prevalence of the quality of *Tama* ignorance gloom. They are indisputably Śhiva Puranas. The third series comprising the Brahma Nanda, Brahma Vairavita, Mukandeya, Bhavishya, Vāruna, and Brahma Puranas are designated as *Rajasa* passionate, from *Rajas* the property of passion which they are supposed to represent. The *Matsya* does not specify which are the Puranas that come under these designations, but remarks that those in which the *Mahātmya* of Hari or Vishnu prevails are *Satīta* those in which the legend of Agni or Śhiva predominate are *Tamasa* and those which dwell most on the stories of Brahma are *Rajasa*. I have elsewhere stated that I considered the Rajasa Puranas to lean to the *Shakti* division of the Hindus the worshippers of *Shakti* or the female principle founding this opinion on the character of the legends which some of them contain such as the Durga *Mahātmya*, or celebrated legend on which the worship of Durgā or Kāli is especially founded which is a principal episode of the Mukandeya. The Brahma Vairavita also devotes the greatest portion of its chapters to the celebration of Radhā, the mistress of Krishna and other female divinities. Wilson's *V* Purāṇa pp. vii xvi. The Brahma Vairavita Purana was appealed to during the celebrated *Maharaja Libel Case* it having been acknowledged as a special authority by Jidunathji himself. It sets forth Kṛi lāl (to use the appropriate denomination given by Sir Joseph Arnould) as the love hero.

Vaúna, Durvísa, Ambá (Devi Bhagavata) Kálíká, Maricha, Ushanas, Bhrigu, Mahéshvara (Shiva), Surya, Pai íshvara, Mudgala, Sanatíkumára, Kumára, Upapuranas The lists quoted by Professor H H Wilson do not altogether agree with this. He is certainly correct, however, in saying that, "Of these Upapuranas few are to be procured" Those in his possession were the Shiva, as distinct from the Váyu, (a copy of which I also have,) the Kálíka, and perhaps one of the Naraduvas. The Ganésha and Narada are well known in the West of India, and so, it is said, is the Mudgala. To the list given in the Shloka above quoted, Shamrío Moriōji adds the following names — Ati, Ishvara, Káli, Devi, Bhava, Mánava, Vayu and Sámba.* The Váyu is often a substitute for the Shiva.

In none of the Puranas, whatever may be their character in a sectarian point of view, is there the slightest relaxation of the system of Caste, viewed in its general aspects. Yet occasionally we find in them certain intimations and assertions worthy of notice.

1 In the *Brahma Purana*, the following passage occurs — Reverence to thee, O tree, the Bráhmans are thy root, the Kshatriyas are thy trunk, the Váshyas thy branches, and the Shudras thy bark. The Bráhmans with (then) fire issued from thy mouth, the kings (*nripas*) from thy arm, the Váshyas from thy thigh, and the Shudras from thy feet †

2 In the *Kriyá Yoga Sútra* of the *Padma Purána*,

* Granthálaya of Shamrío Moriōji, p 29

† Papapráshamanastava of Brahma Purana, quoted in *Calcutta Review* 1801

the glory and dignity of the priestly class are most emphatically set forth. "The Bráhman is the supreme lord of all the Varnas. To him should largesses be given with worship and reverence. The Vipra is the sanctuary (*āshraya*) of all the gods, a visible divinity (*trulashat*) on the earth, who feigns across the grier in the difficult ocean of the world." "All Bráhmins are most exalted, and always to be worshipped whether learned or unlearned, of this there being no question. Those excellent Bráhmins who are guilty of theft and the like, are offenders of themselves, not of others. Bráhmins are lords of the Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Shudras. They are lords of one another, and to be worshipped, being gods upon earth." "Whatever good man bows to a Bráhman, worshipping him as Vishnu, is blessed with long life, sons, fame and wealth. But whatever foolish one does not bow to a Bráhman on the earth, Kesava (Vishnu) desires to strike off his head with his chakra. The bearer of a drop of water which has been in contact with a Bráhman's foot has all the sins of his body thereof, destroyed. Whoever carries on his head the holy things touched by a Bráhman's foot, verily, verily I say, he is freed from all sins. Whatever good man worships a Bráhman going round him, obtains the merit of going round the world with its seven Dvips."^{*} In the *Bhumi Khanda* of the same *Purana*, the duties of the three highest castes are declared to remain obligatory, notwithstanding the progress of the Kali Yuga.[†]

* *Pulm P. Kri : Yoga Sara*, vi.

† *B. I. Bhumi Khanda*, adh 10 Dr Bhan Daji's MS

3. Somewhat contradictory accounts of the origin of Caste are given in the *Vishnu Purana*. These have been evolved by Mr. Munir with his usual accuracy and ability.

While Brahma was meditating on creation, as formerly at the beginning of the Kaliya there appeared an emanate creation composed of gloom. This is the first creation of immovable things. It was followed by the second of irrational animals. It was followed by that of the *urdhvasrotasas* (i.e. whose nutriment proceeds upward) or *Drisis*. Brahma proceeded to create the *ardhvasrotasas* (so called from the downward current of their nutriment). These had abundant illumination both externally and internally but were also full of fulness and passion. These were men and they fulfilled Brahma's purpose. (V. P. 31.4) [A more ample account has its variations.]

While Brahma was deeply meditating his body became pervaded with darkness and the demons issued from his thigh. He abandoned that body and took another when the god proceeded from his mouth. He then assumed a third body also pure, from which sprung the Pitris. He next took a body distinguished by passion from which were produced men. From another body, were formed sheep from his breast, goat from his mouth, lime from his belly and sides, horses, elephants etc. etc. from his feet. 'The creatures as they are reproduced time after time discharge the same functions as they had fulfilled in each previous creation. [Again another account of matters is given.] When Brahma meditating on truth, became desirous to create the world creatures in whom goodness prevailed sprung from his mouth other in whom passion predominated came from his breast others in whom both passion and darkness prevailed sprung from his thighs. All these together constituted the system of the four castes Brahmans, Kshatris, Vaishyas and Shudras who issued from his feet thighs, breast and mouth. But the particle of sin created by time increased in their hearts and they paid no regard to sacrifice. Reviling belief in the Vedas and the Vedas themselves the gods and all sacrificial and other ceremonies these obstructors of sacred rites and sinners of all religious action became wicked, vicious and perverse in their design. In the next verses it would appear that up to this time the duties of the different classes had not been illuminated the meanest of all creatures provided Brahma, who had

formed living creatures, established ordinances for them according to their station and qualities and the duties of the castes and orders and the future abode of the castes who completely fulfil their duties *

It is in vain, in cases of this kind, to ascribe the differences to descriptions of different processes in different Kalpas "This explanation," it is properly stated by Mr Muir, "can only avail if the Puráñas themselves declare these discrepant accounts to refer to different Kalpas. Where this is not stated, the details must naturally be understood as relating to the Kalpa now existing" Other discrepancies appear in the same Purána connected with the mind born offspring of Brahma, who are said not to have propagated and with the other nine mind born sages (really Rushis of the Védas)—Bhuigu, Pulastyá, Pulaha, Kratu, Angiras, Marichi, Daksha, Atri and Vasishtha, who are said to have afterwards developed the male Svayambhuva, and the female Shataupa, and their offspring—the sons Priyavíata and Uttanapada, and the daughters Prasúti and Akúti, said to be given to Daksha and to Ruchi [reckoned in some authorities a Prajapati] † Daksha afterwards appears with a different parentage and progeny "The illustrious prajapati Daksha, who formerly sprang from Brahmá, was born of Márishá to the ten Prachétasas. This illustrious Daksha, fulfilling the command of Brahmá, sunk in contemplation, with the view of creating progeny for himself, produced offspring inferior and superior"

Though the traditions, myths, and legends of this Purána thus differ from one another, they have probably been collected from older sources

The Vishnu Purána, whatever may be its views of the origin of caste, very warmly maintains its importance, and clearly states its laws —

' The supreme Vishnu is propitiated by a man who observes the institutions of caste order and purificatory practices no other path is the way to please him (Here caste, it will be observed takes the precedence) Janárdana (Vishnu) is propitiated by him who is attentive to established observances and follows the duties prescribed for his caste These duties are laid down as in the Law books The Shudra however has the extended privilege (the reason of which is easily understood in the present state of Indian society) of giving presents to Brahmans and of offering funeral cakes without mantras* Brahmans though they may be forced by poverty to descend to the functions of the Shudra, ' must at least share the functions of the mixed classes †

The four Ashramas this Purana describes as in the Smritis The rules laid down for the personal cleanliness of the Householder are exceedingly minute and absurd So are those which pertain to his domestic movements ‡ The monthly and annual Shráddhas are to be conducted with all deference to caste and its customs The castes must not too much intermingle together " Remaining in a place where there is too great an intermixture of the four castes is detrimental to the character of the righteous Men fall into hell who converse with one who takes his food without offering a portion to the gods sages the manes spirits, and guests Let therefore a prudent person carefully avoid the conversation or the contact and the like, of those heretics who are rendered impure by their desertion of the three Vedas Let not a person treat with even the civility of speech heretics those who do forbidden acts pretended saints, scoundrels sceptics (*hantakas*), and hypocrite Intercourse with such iniquitous wretches even at a distance all a scission with schismatics defiles, let a man therefore carefully avoid them §

Of the passage of persons from one caste to another caste

Vishnu 1. 11. 8 Wilson 1. 31. 511 † Wilson's V 1. p. 293
‡ Wilson p. 301 311 et § Wilson's 1. 1. 1. p. 342 31.

the *Vishnu Purána* contains some legends which will be noticed onwards in connexion with the *Bhágavata*

4 In the *Shiva Purana*, which has been composed for the purpose of magnifying the god of that name, it is said that Shúdras as well as the three higher castes are entitled to worship him. This is done in the temples only through the *Pújá* of his emblem the Linga and (subordinately his conveyance) the bull Nandi.* In the eighth chapter in which the privileges of the Bráhman, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shudra worshipper are brought to notice, their daily duties are summarily stated. I have already referred to the graduation in caste observances prescribed by it in the relief of nature, and the purification of the body †

In the *Dharma Sanhita* appended to this *Purána*,‡ the clothing, feeding, and enriching of Bráhmans are held to be proper and meritorious, and the good castes are to give *Dakshiná* to Bráhmans, when attending readings at the temples of Shiva, and on other occasions §. The following precious information on Geography in connexion with the castes is given in the same supplement "The land of (holy) works (*karmmabhumi*) stretches

* This fact should be borne in mind in judging of the cave temples of Elephanta. The groups of figures on the walls are to be considered as there only for the purposes of ornament and illustration.

† See above p. 48

‡ The MSS. of this *Purána* in the possession of Dr. Bhau Daji and myself seem to agree with that examined by Professor H. H. Wilson. That of Dr. Bhau however has the following *Sanhitás* appended to it—the *Vidyeshvara*, *Kalasa*, *Dharma Sanatakumara*, and *Váyu*.

§ *Dharma Sanhita*, adh. xx., xxix. pp. 70 87 93 of Dr. Bhau's MS.

9,000 yojanas (of our kroshas or kosas) to the South of the Hemádri range. In the remote thousand yojanas of this district the Kuraṭas and Yavanas are established. In the intervening districts the Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudras dwell. In the Plaksha Dvípa, where the áchára of the Tíéta Yuga prevails, and people live ten thousand years, the castes exist in excellent state. Of the other Dvípas similar marvels are told.* In this appendix as in the Purána itself it is mentioned that the four primitive castes have the right of worshiping the Linga †

5 The *Bhágavata* Purána is *de facto* the work of greatest authority among the Hindus of the present day, especially among those of the northern, western, and eastern parts of the country. Its popularity has arisen not only from the superiority of its style, but from its exposition and advocacy of Vedanta doctrines, and from its containing, in its tenth skandha, a summary of all the legends associated with the god Krishna. Professor H. H. Wilson says of it — “The *Bhágavata* is a work of great celebrity in India, and exercises a more direct and powerful influence upon the opinions and feelings of the people than perhaps any other of the Puránas.”‡ For “Puránas” here he might almost have substituted the words “sacred books,” for the majority of the Bráhmans seek to interpret even the Védas and Upanishads according to its teachings. Its importance has been well pointed out by the learned Mons L. Burouef, the able translator of its first nine skandhas

* Dharmá Śaṅkuta, adh. xxxiii

† Wilson’s Vishnu Purána, p. xxv

‡ Ib. xxvi

“ This Purána,” he says, “ being compiled from ancient documents, has preserved much information which we cannot find elsewhere, and the genealogical lists which are in it are those which according to the opinion of such able orientalists as Jones, Buchanan, and Colebrooke, are most to be depended upon. In fine we find either entire or partial translations of the Bhágavata in several of the common Indian dialects, such as the Támul, Telugu, and the Canarese. The tenth sánkha of the work has been translated into Maráthi. It is a principal font, too, of much of the Maráthi poetry. All the influence which it has acquired is in spite of its modern origin. Burnouf acquiesces in the opinion that it was composed by Vopadeva, a learned Brahman patronized by Hemádri, minister of Ramachandrá, the last king but one of Devagiri, whose inscriptions, as shown by Mr. Walter Elliot, are dated towards the close of the thirteenth century of the Christian era.” *

Several legendary notices of the origin of caste are found in the Bhagavata

Two of these resemble what we have in the Purusha Sukta †. The Brahman [was] the mouth of Purusha, the Kshatriya his arms, the Vaishya sprung from the thighs, and the Shudra from the feet of Bhagaván ‡. The Brahman is his mouth, he is Kshatriya armed, that great one Vaishya-thighed and has the black caste abiding in his feet §. Another mystical view of the case is elsewhere presented

Brahma who consists of the Veda (Chhandasa) for his own preservation created you [Brahmans] who are characterized by austerity, knowledge, devotion, and charity. For your protection the thousand

* See Burnouf's Introduction to his Bhágavata which is well worthy of special study. An English translation of it is published in the Oriental Christian Spectator of Bombay for 1843.

† See before p. 118

‡ Bhágavata ii. 33

§ Bhágavata ii. 33.

footed created us [Kshatriyas] from his thousand arms the Bishma
called his heart and the Kshatriya his body * An expansion of
the commonly received view of the case is given in what follows —

From the mouth of Purusha O son of Kurn came the *brahma* (sacred word) and the Brahman who owing to his production from the same organ became the chief and preceptor of the castes From his arms came the *Ashattra* (protection) The Kshatriya devoted himself to that duty and being formed from Purusha defends the castes from the injury of their enemies The arts which afford subsistence to the world sprang from the thoughts of the Lord and thence was produced the Vaishya who provided the maintenance of mankind From the fear of Bhagavan springing service for the fulfilment of duty from it was formerly produced the Shudra, with whose occupation Hari is well pleased †

A transition from caste to caste seems recognised in several passages

Prishadhra, it tells us, was guarding cows, and killed one of them by mistake, instead of a tiger which was carrying her away The family teacher cursed him though he had transgressed involuntarily to be in consequence of this deed no longer a *Kshatriya* but to become a *Shudra* ‡ This story, with variations and inconsistencies in the details is found in several of the sacred books of the Hindus “ In regard to the sons of Manu, says Mr Muir we find in the Puranas the following particulars Prishadhra, the Vishnu Purana says, ‘ became a *Shudra* in consequence of killing his religious teacher’s cow § In a note Professor Wilson states that there are different versions of the offence in different Puranas ‘ The Vayu says he was hungry, and not only killed but ate the cow The Harivamsa, too, states that Prishadhra having killed his Guru’s cow, became a *Shudra* ¶ ‘ The obvious purport of this legend and of some that follow remarks Professor Wilson, is to account for the origin of the different castes from one common ancestor ‘ From Karusha (another son of Manu) sprang the Kárushas of the Kshatriya caste, the protectors of the

* Ib. m. 28 2-3.

† Bhágavata. iii 6, 80, 33 Muir’s Texts 1. p. 12.

‡ Bhágavata, ix. 2 9

§ 1 P. n. 1 12

¶ II V. ix v 659.

Northern region, pious and devoted to duty * From Dhṛiṣṭa (another son of Manu) sprang the Dhārṣṭaka race of *Kshatriyas* who attained *Brahmanhood* on earth as the Bhāgavata tells us † Another son or grandson, of Manu, was Nābhaga, who the Vishnu Purāna says, was the son of Nēdīshtha and became a *Vaishya* ‡ The Bhāgavata also says that 'another Nābhaga the son of Dīṣṭha, became a *Vaishya* by his works. § The Harivansha declares that two 'sons of Nābhāgarishta, who were *Vaishyas*, became *Brahmans*. || In the next section of the Vishnu Purāna another (?) Nābhāga is thus mentioned (Wilson p 358) The son of Nābhaga was Nābhāga, his son was Ambariṣha his son was Virūpa from him sprang Prishadashva, and from him Rathīnara On this subject there is this verse 'These persons descended from a *Kshatriya* stock, and afterwards known as Angirasas, were the chief of the Rathīnara *Brahmans* possessing also the character of *Kshatriyas*' ¶ On this Professor Wilson annotates 'The same verse is cited in the Vayu and affords no instance of a mixture of character of which several similar cases occur subsequently Kshatriyas by birth became *Brahmans* by profession and such persons are usually considered as Angirasas as followers or descendants of Angiras who may have founded a school of warrior priests This is the obvious purport of the legend of Nābhāga's assisting the sons of Angiras to complete their sacrifice, although the same authority (the Bhagavata Purana) has devised a different explanation On this subject that authority says 'Angiras being solicited for progeny, begot on the wife of the childless Rathīnara sons having the sanctity of *Brahmans* These persons being born of a [Kshatriya's] wife but afterwards known as the sons of Angiras, were the chiefs of the Rathītaras, *Brahmans* possessing also the character of *Kshatriyas*' ** Among the descendants in the 21st generation, of Ikshvāku (the most renowned of the sons of Manu) was Harita, son of Yavanashva, grandson of Ambariṣha, and great grandson of Mandhātri of whom the Vishnu Purāna says that from him sprang the Angirasa Haritas †† On this Professor Wilson observes (V P p 369, note 3) 'The commentator explains the phrase The Angirasa *Brahmans*, of whom the Harita family was

* V P iv 2 9

† Bhag ix 2 1,

‡ V P ii 1 14

§ Bhag ix. 2, 23

|| H. V xi. v 688.

¶ V P iv 2 2.

** Bhag. ix 6 2-3

†† V P ii 3 5.

the chief. The Linga reads, 'Harita was the son of Yuvanashva, whose sons were the Haritas they were on the part (or followers) of Angras and were *Brahmans* with the properties of *Kshatriyas**. The Váyu has Harita was the son of Yuvanashva [from whom were] many called Haritas they were sons of Angras and *Brahmans* with the properties of *Kshatriyas*†. It may be questioned if the compilers of the Puranas or their annotators knew exactly what to make of this and similar phrases. The great grandfather of Harita Man dhátri himself is the author of a hymn in the Rig Véda. ‡

The preceding legends refer to transits in caste in the solar dynasty. Similar instances are found in the Bhágavata, as in other Puranas, as taking place in the lunar dynasty. Indeed the Bhágavata speaks of these having been originally only one caste (*Varna*) "There was formerly only one Véda, only one utterance, the pranava (OM) the essence of all speech, only one god Narayana, one Agni (fire), and (one) Caste. From Paruravas came the triple Véda in the beginning of the Tréta age"§. Thus Paruravas, a king, is said to have had a contest with the Brahmins, and to have had offspring who became Brahmins and even Rishis. The legends respecting this and similar matters which have been diligently collected and collated by Mr. Muir|| are very inconsistent with one another, but they all testify to the fact that of old various persons, in consequence of alleged merit or demerit, passed from one caste to another.

But the most important matter to notice in connexion with our subject is the unmitigated spirit of Caste, and of Brahmanical pre eminence and domination, which appears in the Bhágavata.

* Linga Purana.

† Váyu Purana.

‡ Muir's Texts 2 pp. 43-48.

§ Bhágavata ix 11, 48-49.

|| Muir's Texts 2 pp. 48-58.

"The property of Bráhmans is harder of digestion than flaming fire when taken little by little much more by kings esteeming them selves god like I do not esteem that venom to be poison for which there is an antidote The property of Bráhmans is real poison, of which there is no antidote in the world Poison hurts only the eater Fire may be quenched by water but the fire produced from the flint of a Bráhman consumes a tribe to its (very) root

The property of a Bráhman acquired with reluctant consent destroys three generations If taken by force it destroys the ten preceding and the ten succeeding generations The foolish kings who blind by royal wealth covet Bráhman property do not look to hell the destroyer of themselves As many as are the grains of sand wet with tears dropping from weeping Bráhmans who are liberal givers and with families but deprived of their properties so many years are kings with their relatives who have alienated Bráhman property cooked in the *kumbhipala hell* He who carries off Bráhman property given by himself or given by others is born a worm on a dunghill for sixty thousand years Let me not take possession of Bráhman property by seizing which kings have become short lived, been defeated and deprived of their sovereignty, and been born again O my followers, do not hurt a Bráhman even though he may be a delinquent Reverence him constantly though he may be a murderer (ghnantam) or addicted to much swearing As I devotedly bow to the Bráhmans at all times, so do you whoever does otherwise shall be punished If Bráhman property be taken even unwittingly it thrusts the holder of it down to hell as the Bráhman's cow did to Nriga *

This remains the spirit of caste till the present day

6 What passes as the *Nárad i Purana* seems quite a fragmentary and modern work Professor H H Wilson says that "it is possibly a compilation of the sixteenth or seventeenth century" † Its contents are given by Professor Aufrecht in his Catalogue of the Postvedic

* Bhágavata x. 64 8-10 This passage, with the exception of a single shloka is quoted in the Calcutta Review for 1866 Reprinted article, pp. 20-21

† Wilson's V P p. xxxiii.

Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library * It appears from them that it does not call for examination on the subject of Caste

7 In the curious conversations of the *Märkandeya Purana*, several Caste notices occur, but generally speaking there is nothing peculiar in them.

The pre-elevation of one's own truthfulness (*svasatyavapipalanam*) is declared to be the brahmanhood (*brahmanatam*) of the Brahmins (Vipra) †

A bird (formerly and still a learned sage) when discoursing of transmigration alludes to its birth at different periods, as a Brahman Kshatriya Vaishya and Shudra, as well as a worm brute and bird ‡ In a conversation between a father and a son the precocious youth thus traces the course of transmigration upwards—a worm a chrysalis a butterfly a beast a fly, an elephant a tree a cow a horse, a humped back accursed man, a dwarf a Chandala, a Pukkasha, a Shudra, a Vaishya a King and possibly a Brahman the highest species of undane being §

In a reported conversation between Vishvamitra and the king Harishchandra the sage is represented as saying that 'unfulfilled promises to Brahmins are most destructive || In a dispute between Vishvamitra and Vasishtha Brahma says The Brahma power is transendent

The importance of Caste observances is thus set forth — ' A man obtains ultimate perfection (*Siddha*) from the duties of his own caste He does not if fallen but goes to hell on death for doing what is forbidden ¶ A Brahman discharging his duties is said to go to the abode of Brahma (*Prajapati*) a Kshatriya, to that of Indra a Vaishya to that of the Maruts and a Shudra to that of the Gandharvas **

Lists of peoples and countries within the Bharatakanda, or India

* Cat Cod Man Sans pp 89

† Markandéya Purána, 1 3 4. Rev. Krishna Mohan Banerjee, c1 p. 8.

‡ M. I. x 0 1 p. 9 § M. P. 10 86 90

|| M. I. 1. 38 p. 8 M. I. 9 20 p. 21 For a summary of these legendary discussions, see Muśala's notes vol. 1 pp 80-91

¶ M. I. 11 28-3 p. 180 ** M. 1. 11. 49 48 p. 281

similar to those of the *Ramayana* and the *Dig Vijaya* of Arjuna in the *Mahábhárata*,* are given. They are somewhat confused in their arrangement and do not sufficiently distinguish between more ancient and more modern divisions and enumerations but geographically and ethnologically they are still of some use. When I finally review the Indian castes and tribes as they now exist a few of them may come under notice †

8 The *Agni Purana* notices the Castes, including those of the *Anuloma* and *Pratiloma*, but only in a general way ‡

In the *Bhavishya Purana*, as mentioned by Professor H H Wilson, there is some curious matter (in the last chapters,) relating to the *Magas*, silent worshippers of the sun, from Shakadvipa, "as if the compiler had adopted the Persian term *Magh*, and connected it with the fire worshippers of India"§ This matter has been extracted by Professor Aufrecht || The Brahmans, it tells us, are in the country of the Shakas called *Magas*, the Kshatriyas, *Magasas*, the Vaishyas, *Manasas*, and the Shudras, *Mandagas*. There are no mixed castes connected with them. It has been the object of the writer to support the practice of the Hindu solar worship by that of Persia, without imposing a geographical limit to the Hindu worship. In other portions of this Purana the duties of the four primitive Castes are laid down much as in the Law Books || It extends the institution of Caste even to serpents, among which are Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudras,—the serpentine Brahma

* See before pp 218 19 226-28, 240 246-50 260-62, 266

† M P iv 5 3 64 pp 322 24

‡ Agni Purana, adh 146 fol 141 of MS of Dr Bhau Daji

§ Wilson's V P p xi || Cat Cod Man Sans p 53

¶ Bhavishya Purana, Dr Bhau Daji's MS fol 76

mans maintaining their superiority, being either white or tawny, the Kshatriyas red or yellow, the Vaishyas black or like the breast of a crow, and the Shúdras like a snake * In one portion it represents Brahma as protesting against the idea of caste being founded on mere birth Its reasonings on this subject are somewhat similar to those of Ashva Ghosha the Buddhist Brahmanhood it attributes to *tapa* and the *sanskáras* Parashara, it says, was born of a female Shvapáka (dog eater), Vyasa, of a fisherman's daughter, Rishishringa, of an antelope, Mandavya, of a female frog, Vashishtha, of a courtesan, Kanáda, of an ulúka (an owl), Mandapala, of a buffalo †

9 In the portions of the *Bhavishyottara Purána* which I have seen, there is nothing worth extraction in this place This work appears to be undetermined in its size, apocryphal additions to it being current in various parts of India

10 The *Brahma Vaivartta Purana*, which consists of the Brahma, Prakriti, Ganésha, and Krishna Khandas, has some caste notices which require attention

In the account given in it of creation, we find the usual statement of the origin of the four principal castes To mixed intercourse with one another, the *Varnasankaras* or those of mixed caste are (fictionally) attributed The *Gopa* (cowherd), Barber, *Bhilla*, *Modaka*, *Kubas*, *Támbulas*, and the *Vanikyatayah* (mercantile classes) are declared to be "pure Shúdras"‡ The

* *Bhavishya Purana*, Dr Bhau Daji's MS fol 67

† *Bhavishya Purana*, Kalpa ix. fol 78 of MS

‡ But the *Bhilla* is in the Smrta of Yama (Anthon's MS p 4) reckoned one of the *Antyasa* (or one of the classes exterior by birth) See passage quoted in Goldstucker's great Dictionary, under *Antyasa*

following table, formed from what follows, gives the alleged origin of the mixed classes —

<i>Caste.</i>	<i>Father</i>	<i>Mother</i>	<i>Explanations.</i>
Karana	Vaishya	Shudra	Kavatha
Ambaṣṭha	Vaishya	Shudra	Physician
Maléśkāra	Vishvakarma	Shudra	Gardener
Karmakāra	Viśvakarma	Shudra	Artisan
Shankhakāra	Vishvakarma	Shudra	Blacksmith
K. vīmaka	Vishvakarma	Shudra	Sell bresser
Kumbhikāra	Vishvakarma	Shudra	Weaver
Kansakāra	Viśvakarma	Shudra	Ter
Sūtrakāra	Vishvakarma	Shudra	Brazier
Chitrakāra	Vishvakarma	Shudra	Carpenter [†]
Svarnakāra	Vishvakarma	Shudra	Painter [†]
Attalikākāra	Clitakāra	Shudra harl ^t	Goldsmith [‡]
Kotka	Attalikākāra	Kumbhakara	Architect [§]
Tulakāra	Kumbhakara	Kotaka	Huske blier
Tivara	Kshatriya	Rajaputra	Oilman
Nata and Daṣyū	Dhvīra	Tiśakārī	Fisherman
Malia	Nata	Dhvīra	Weaver
Kola	Nata	Dhvīra	Juſle-tr be
Mātarā	Nata	Dhvīra	
Bhaja (or Bhāṇi)	Nata	Dhvīra	
Kalanīra	Nata	Dhārī	
Chāndala	Si udra	Brishnan	
Charmakāra	Dhvīra	Chandala	Dresser ofkins
Mānsachēli	Chē dīn	Charmakara	Fleher
Kočha	Dīra	Mānsachedi	
Kāndāra	Kāvārtta	Kočha	
Kādi or Dūma	Nata	Chāndala	Sweeper
Vanacharas	Chāndala	Had	Dwellers in the w ^{ll}
Gangāputra	Nata	Piśāra	Sons of the Ganges
Yogi	Vishṇḍilī	Gangaputra	
Shundi	Vaishya	Tīwar	
Paundraka	Vaihyā	Si andī	
Rajaputra	Kshatriya	Kura	
Agerī	Karṇā	Rajaputra	Maker of Salt
Kāvārtta	Kshatriya	Vaishya	F sherman

The Sūtrakāra, literally "a maker of string or a worker by string, (in Marathi Sutār) gets his designation probably either from sometimes joining planks by string or from his using a string in planning or measuring. In the text he is said to have become degraded (from his position as a pure Shudra) by the curse of a Brahman (for refusing w^{od} for a sacrifice)

[†] Also said to be degraded by the curse of a Brahman (for his caricatures)

[‡] Said to be degraded for stealing Brahmanical gold.

[§] Degraded for his parent ge

Castes	Futha	Yokes	Explanations.
Vyādha	Kshatrya	Sarvavī	Hunter
Saptaputras	Tivara	Shundī	Of Seven-Sons
Kūdara	Rishi	Br̄hmaṇī	From-a bad womb.
Vāgānita	Kshatrya	Vāshya	Forbidden by the Voice.†
Mlechha	Kshatrya	Shūdra	Tribal so called.‡
Jola	Mlechha	Kuṇḍala	Weaver?§
Sharaka	Jola	Kuṇḍala	
Vādyā	Ishvāni Kumara	Vipra	Mantra physician
Vyādṛagṛhi	Vādyā	Shūdra	Serpent-seizer
Rajaka	Dhūvāri	Tivara	Washerman.
Kāpali	I var	Rajaka	Coarse weaver?
Sarvast	Vāpita	Gopa	

For purposes of comparison this list is interesting. It varies considerably from the lists of Manu,§ that presented to the British Government by the Puna Bihāmans,|| that given by Colebrooke in the fifth volume of the Asiatic Researches, and that found in the Jati Vivēka, none of which altogether agree with one another, thus tending to establish the fictional character of the Caste arrangements, especially of those connected with what have been called the Mixed Classes.

11 The *Skanda Purāna* seems merely a collection of Mahatmyas, Khaṇdas, and Sanhitas, in praise of sacred places, and in embodiment of local legends especially connected with the god Shiva. I have already made some quotations from its *Kashi Khanda* (devoted to the glorification of Banāras) in illustration of the Brahman view of Buddhism, and from its *Sahvādri Khanda*

Begotten on the first of the days forbidden according to the course of nature

† Begotten without the consent of the mother

‡ It would appear that the authors of this Purāna had had a taste of the Muhammadan power before this entrance was made in it. In the text the Mīshūlas are spoken of as having unshorn ears, and being fearless, invincible in fight and without *āchāra* *Shaucha*, or *Dharma*. They are said to have been begotten on a forbidden day

§ See before pp. 54, et seq.

|| See before pp. 65 et seq.

(devoted to the West of India), from which I shall have again occasion to draw when reviewing the Hindu Castes as they now exist

12 In the *Varáha Purana*, the decline of *Dharma*, or Religion, in the four *Yugas* is referred to. In the first age it was of four feet in stature, in the second, of three, in the third, of two, and in the fourth, of one. The proportion of religion in the Bráhman is as six, in the Kshatriya, as three, in the Vaishya, as two, and in the Shudra, as one * I have not been able to find a complete copy of the *Varáha Purana* in Bombay. It would appear from the contents given of it by Professor Aufrecht, that it is not unfavorable to the initiation of even Shudras †. But the mantras used by Shúdras can not be those of the Védas.

13 The *Linga Purana*, which is the most important of those written for the glorification of the god Shiva, contains some express information about the institutions of Caste as it is regarded by the Shaiva and Smárta Sectaries.

The rules which it prescribes for ablutions, sippings of water, etc correspond with those of the Smritis the names of Rudra and Shiva finding in the ceremonies a special place ‡.

The ceremonies of the three *Sandhyas* (at morn, noon and eve) and of the five *Maháyajnas* (great sacrifices—to Brahma the gods, men disembodied spirits, and the pitris) are enjoined on all the *Dvijas*.

In the Satyayuga, there was no distinction of caste, which commenced during the Tréta, when the áshramas were also instituted §.

* *Varáha Purana*, xvi 6 7 MS of the late Rev R Nesbit, p 21

† *Catal Cod Manuscript Bod* p 59

‡ *Linga Purana I Purvárdha* 26

§ *Linga Purana* : 26

In the Naga, Soma, Gandharva and Varuna regions of the Jambu dvipa, Mlechhas and Pulindas are to be found on the eastern regions the Kiratas* on the Western the Yavanas, and in the interior, Bráhmans, Kshatriyas Vaishyas, and Shúdras. There are no castes in other dvipas †

From the mouth of *Pináki* (*Shiva* so denominated from his bow *pinaka*) proceeded the Bráhmans and Brahmá from his arms Indra Upéndra and the Kshatriyas, from his thighs the Vaishyas and from his feet the Shudras ‡. Though the origin of the Bráhman and of even Brahmá himself is here changed the Brahmanical pre eminence still continues. The *Shiva Mandala Puja* (the worship, in a lotus figured enclosure of a cubit in diameter — of a betel nut as an emblem of *Shiva*) is to be performed by Bráhmans and Kshatriyas and not by Vaishyas Shúdras and women, or through the instrumentality of Bráhmans §.

14 In the *Vámana Purána*, it is said that other Bráhmans and Brahmanis, even though under the defilement of the Sutika, are not to eat with Chandalas and other low castes ||.

15 The *Matsya Purána*, which consists both of Vaishnava and Shaiva material, has less connection with our subject than might have been expected.

In treating of the manes it informs us that the manasa pitris, the sons of Vasishtha are worshipped by the Bráhmans that the Hayish manta pitris in the region of Mártonda (the Sun), the sons of Angiras, of whom Yashodá was sprung are worshipped by the Kshatriyas that the Susvadha pitris of the Kámádugha loka are worshipped by the Vaishyas. It is difficult to see the reason of these imaginary distinctions except in the desire to elevate the Brahmanical favorite Vasishtha.

On the position of the Pulindas and the Kiratas, according to the Hindu literature see the instructive Preface of Dr F. Edward Hall to his edition of the *Vásavadatta*, pp 32-34. Dr H. has happily undertaken to edit the new edition of Wilson's *Vishnu Purána* the first volume of which has just reached India.

* *Linga Purána* 1. 5° Compare this with what is said above p. 488

† *Linga Purána* 5. 9-10 § *Linga Purána* n. 20 1 2

|| *Vámana Purána*, Adh. xiv. 79 Dr Bhau Daji's Ms. fol. 29

The following story of the killing and eating of a cow to which I have referred in my First Exposure of Hinduism is curious ' How did Kaushika's sons obtain the supreme union (*yogamuttamam*) ? In five births how did they obtain freedom from works ? Suta said There was a holy Rishi in the Kurukshétra named Kaushika Know the names and works of his sons—Svasripi Krodhana, Hinsra, Pishuna Kavi, Vágduṣṭa, and Pitriyarti They were the disciples of Garga So great a famine and drought occurred that all the people became terrified By the order of Garga these ascetics went into a forest to feed his milch cow Let us (said they) kill the tawny cow (for) we are in anguish from hunger While they were thinking of this sinful work, the youngest son said if it be necessary to kill her, then accomplish it in the form of a Shrāddha If we accomplish it in the form of a Shrāddha she will certainly save us from the sin (of killing her) All agreed to the plan of Pitriyarti the youngest (son) He thus pleased devoted the cow to the Shrāddha and having put two of his brothers in the place of the gods and three in the place of ancestors one being a guest he himself became the performer of the Shrāddha and by means of the mantras, and the remembrance of his ancestors he performed the Shrāddha Some one (of them) then went and said to the Guru, The cow has been killed by a tiger The seven ascetics, through the power of the Vedic Mantras escaped the fearful effects of this cruel deed After they became the victims of time they were born in the country of Dashárná The remembrance of their caste remained with them because they had acted in recognition of their Ancestors Though the affair was a cruel one it was done in the form of a Shrāddha They were born in the family of a cruel hunter Though this was the case they yielded their life before Nilakántha (Shiva) and by their regard for their ancestors retained their knowledge and their position as Vairágis In consequence of having fasted and observed the rites established for a tirtha, the seven Yogiś became Chakravákas (Bráhmaṇi geese) on the Manasa (lake) Hear great Rishis their names and their karma (as Chal avikas) (Their names are) Sumaná Kumári, Buddha Chidradarshí, Dunetrakñ Anétra, Anshumana they practised the Yoga Three of them became breakers of the Yoga, of little mind The story goes on to say that Pitriyarti was born a Raja of the Panchála and that the other three

brothers who had not broken the *Yoga*, became his ministers. Pitṛvarti was married to Santiti the daughter of Dévala. Pitṛvarti is afterwards represented as taking up the latter part of the story more in detail, and informing Rishikésha (Vishnu) in a dream that the devotees were at first *Vipramukhyah* (Brahmans), then hunters, deers, chakravákas, pure men when those who had broken the *Yoga* joined the Raja as brothers penitent (for the slaughter of the cow) and then became observers of the *Yoga*, by which they obtained liberation, the effects of the Shraddha thus remaining*. This story is constantly drawn on by the Brahmins, at the celebration of Shraddhas.

Before leaving this Purána it may be mentioned that it contains the tradition of a flood which we have already found in the Bráhmanas,† though with variations ‡.

16 In the second and third chapters of the first part of the *Kurma Purána*, there is the common account of the four primitive castes, and of the four Aśramas §.

17 The *Garuda Purána* such as it is now found to be (probably mere extracts from a larger work), and reporting alleged conversations between Vishnu and his conveyancer, is much used for popular instruction in the West of India. It is generally employed in connexion with the occurrence of serious disease and of death. It treats principally of the duties of the sick, of the world of Yama, the god of death, of the torments of the different hells, and of funeral ceremonies and shráddhas. The portions of it which refer to these subjects have

* *Matsya Purána*, Adh. xix to xx fol. of MS. of B. E. R. As. Soc. 24 '6
Compare this with the *Garuda Purána*, Bombay edit. xiv 1-18.

† See before, p. 167

‡ *Matsya Purána*, Adh. 1-11. Of these chapters a rough translation is given in the *Oriental Christian Spectator* vol. n. pp. 287-8, 412-14.

§ *Kurma Purána*, fol. 6-7 of Dr. Bhú Dájí's MS.

lately been lithographed in Bombay The matter relating to caste which it notices are the following —

The party making a promise of giving anything to a Bráhman which he does not fulfil, or who calls him to get something which he does not impart, is consigned to the river Vaitarani (of hell) * The Bráhman who sells juices (*rasa*) who becomes the keeper (*pati*) of a vrishali, who kills animals without the sacrifices pre-gribed in the Vedas, who falls from the work of the Brahma and eats flesh or drinks spirits, who is of a furious disposition, who does not study the commands of the Shastras, the Shúdra who reads the Védas who drinks the milk of a tawny cow,† who wears the Bráhmanical thread, who is the keeper of a Bráhmani, who lusts for the wife of a Kshatriya, who carries off the wife of any other person, who has desires for his own daughter, and who reproaches a pure woman and those who do what is forbidden, and who do not what is commanded, fall into Vaitarani ‡ The Bráhman who seats a Dásí on his couch goes to hell and who raises offspring from a Shúdra woman falls from Brahmanism Such a wicked Bráhman is not worthy of salutation They who do not worship Shiva, Shívá (his wife), Hari (Viśnu), Surya Ganesha,§ and a Sadguru go to hell They who do not perform pujá (material worship) undoubtedly go to hell They who do not forbid the quarrels of Bráhmans and the fighting of cows but excite them go to hell They who make weapons, and bows and arrows, and who sell them go to hell Vaishyas who sell skins and women who sell hair, and those who sell poison, go to hell They who do not give cooked food to a mendicant Bráhman coming to their house go to hell || The slayer of a Bráhman becomes (in hell) possessed of the disease of consumption the killer of a cow becomes hump backed the killer of a daughter becomes a leper When these persons get another birth,

* Garuda Purana, iv 17 Bombay Ed

† Tawny cows are to be given to Bráhmans. Gar Pur viii 60

‡ Gar Pur iv 20 23

§ These are the gods of the *Panchayatana* (pentad) as e.g. found in the new temple near "Breach Candy" (the *Burig Khwāja* the Pass of the Tower) in the Island of Bombay

|| Gar. Pur. iv 36 44.

(after undergoing their punishments in hell), they become Chāndalas. The killers of women and of a foetus become diseased in hell, and are next born as Pulindas. He who has intercourse with forbidden women becomes a eunuch, and he (who has intercourse) with the wife of his guru gets a bad skin. He who eats flesh gets a bloody looking skin. the drinker of spirits gets black teeth. The Brahman who eats things not to be ate, gets a huge belly*. The Brahman who forgets the Gayatrī and who does not perform Sandhyā, and who with a bad disposition within, appears good without becomes a Baka (small white heron)†. Giving gifts (of land) to a Brahman has the merit of giving a thousand cows and he who takes the (landed) property of a Brahman, becomes a monkey (in a future birth)‡.

The setting of bulls loose, for religious consecration for which the high technical term of *vrishabhotsarga* has been devised is to be regulated in its own way by the different castes. The bull thus given by a Brahman must be of qualities rarely occurring (and consequently rarely requiring from him the gift)—of red eyes, neck, horns, and hoofs and with a white belly and black back that given by a Kshatriya should be sleeky, and of a red colour that by a Vaishya, of a yellow colour and that by a Shudra, of a black colour §.

The *Sutaka* (period of un purity from birth or death) is limited to ten days for all sorts of persons in the Kali Yuga ||.

The Brahmins Vaishyas, and Shudras, etc who do not perform funeral ceremonies (*pretakriyā*), are like Chāndalas ¶.

17. What has been said by Professor H H Wilson about the *Brahmānda Purāna* is correct. The first portion of it, as stated by him, is taken from the Vāyu. The second (Uttara Khanda), as he supposed, is found in the Dakhan, a copy of it belonging to Dr Bhāu Dāji

* Gar Pur v 55.

† Gar Pur v 18. In verses 37-44 we have an account of the indigestibility of Brahmana property similar to what has been already quoted from the Bhāgavatā (p 436, above).

‡ Gar Pur v 48

§ Gar Pur xli. 22 23.

|| Gar Pur xxi 19. Compare this with p 378, above.

¶ Gar Pur xvii 4

being now before me. To this unsatisfactory work there are appended a great many extravagant and lying *Mahatmyas* of so called sacred places, etc. In the *Uttara Khanda* now mentioned, there is a list of the eighteen *Puráñas*, among which the name of the *Devi bhágavata* appears as the fifteenth *

The merit of the feeding of Bráhmans (even of thousands at a time) and the employing of them for various services in connexion with diseases and propitiations, etc., is distinctly set forth in it as in other works †. In a dialogue about a sacrifice, attributed to Agasti and another speaker, various modern personages are referred to by name, as Rámánanda and Shankarácharya! The Karhájaka or Karhája Bráhmans (whom we shall soon have occasion to notice) are denounced in it as produced from the bones of camels, and said to be accursed in their origin and practices ‡. It is probably the production of some of the *Deshashtha Bráhmans*, whose antipathy to the Karhádas is well known.

19 The *Váyu Purána*, which in the *Puráñika* lists is often substituted for the *Shua*, is considered, and probably correctly so, by Professor H H Wilson, to be the oldest work of its class. He had seen only its first half.

It is said in it that Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vanshyas and Shúdras existed in the Tréta Yuga without the distinctions of honour of the later times. The Kshatriyas are said to have got their name from *trana* preservation, and the Shudras to have been brought to their present state from their residing near burning grounds, and from their

* *Brahmánda Purana* (*Uttara Khanda*), Adh. xi.

† *Brahmánda Pur.* Adh. ii. ‡ *Brahmínda Pur.* Adh. xi.

deficient heroism. The duties of the four castes are stated in the usual way. The *sthāna* (resting place) of the *Brahmans* is said to be *Prajāpati*, of the *Kshatriyas* *Indra*, of the *Vaishyas*, *Marut* and of the *Shudras*, the *Gandharvas* *. Defilements are treated of much as in the Law Books †.

The examination of the Purānas with a view to the objects of this work has convinced me that, as already hinted, the Law Books (to which the Purānas not unfrequently refer by name) are still considered the great authorities on the subject of Caste, though doubtless, in many instances (the most important of which we may yet have an opportunity of noticing), a usage in many parts of India has been gradually established,—especially by provincial prejudice, by the spread of sectarianism, by foreign conquest, and by national deterioration on the one hand, and progress on the other,—which is not altogether consistent with their teachings.

As the Purānas are the latest works recognized as of an authoritative character by the Hindus, I do not think it necessary for the objects of this work to refer here specially to the Upapurānas, Tantras, and Mystical and Sectarial works in the hands of sections of the people. The gleanings on the subject of Caste, which can be made from them, are neither numerous nor important. I proceed to the consideration of Caste as it now exists in the Indian life, taking such a general review as I find practicable, of the Castes and Tribes as they are now presented to our view throughout the wide extent of the Indian territories. It will be seen from our survey of them, that they are both numerous and diversified,

and in many instances irreconcilably hostile to one another, and that, in the view of their actual state, to speak of an ' Indian community' is almost an impropriety of speech. This remark is made with the full admission of the fact that a common understanding exists among large portions of the people of India about the subordination of the more common castes, and about the social and religious rank which their members,—independent of power, wealth, and employment,—still occupy. To what is called the "Confusion of Castes," the natives constantly appeal as a proof of the advance of the Kali Yuga. Their views of this matter they are not able to reconcile with the palpable growth of India in general enlightenment, and in physical and mechanical resources, and with the good order and peace generally prevailing throughout its extensive provinces.

END OF VOLUME FIRST

